/114/

121 I shall describe to you in the following some aspects of the social structure of the same Indian tribe whose conceptions about the soul Herr Dr. Zerries has just discussed. The title, "Sociology," is too presumptuous, insofar as today I intend to deal with only the larger social units and thus touch upon only a small sector of the sociological field. I shall be able to present to you only raw expedition-material; the comparative arrangement of these data in South American cultural history will be the work of the next few months.

101 131 The Waika /Waica/ inhabit the upper Orinoco river region in southern Venezuela; their area of habitation, however, is not limited by the Sierra Parima, in which the Orinoco rises and which forms the mountain border with Brazil, but rather extends into Brazilian soil far beyond this mountain chain, about to the middle of the northern tributaries of the Rio Negro and Rio Branco. [161] The Sierra Parima therefore is more the backbone of the living space of this Indian group, which, according to the best estimates, contains about fifty thousand persons and an area of about half 137 the size of West Germany. According to external appearances, [132] this region is counted as tropical rain forest; seasonal differences are only slight and are practically without influence on the life 101 and culture of the people. The critical cultural importance of the 199 forest lies in its isolating effect: between the habitation area of [137] the Waika and the first mixed settlement there extends an almost [487] uninhabited forest-belt several hundred kilometers wide, and since there is very little river traffic and as other means of transportation there are only onerously traversable Indian paths, the culture of the Waika has been able to remain almost completely pure. Only a [199] few material things from our world have as yet found their way to them: a few machetes and axes, a few matches and fishhooks, which an American mission working from 1947 to 1955 under very difficult conditions and we ourselves brought along; since the Waika do not maintain any contacts of their own downriver, however, the barely begun acculturation process does not go on /115/ by itself, but ebbs away the moment the visiting whites leave Waika country.

/115 cont./

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(191)

Thus the geographic situation of the Waika and their extremely limited contact with civilization are depicted in a few words. Because the name is simple and well-known, I have so far spoken only of the "Waika," but now it is time to make a more precise distinction when first we turn to the question of tribal organization. On Venezuelan soil this people is divided into three large groups, all of whom, disregarding slight differences, speak the same language and have the same culture. The Shidishana /Shiriana/ live north of the Ocamo, a northern tributary of the upper Orinoco; to the north their territory is bordered by the Cariban Makiritare, with whom the Shidishana have in many ways entered into a close economic and social symbiosis. Adjacent to the Shidishana on the south are the Waika proper (the name means "killer"); they inhabit the region between Ocamo and Orinoco and with a few of their villages extend over to the southern Orinoco bank. The large and completely unexplored region south of the Orinoco to the Brazilian border and beyond, however, belongs, at least in its northern part, to the Shamatairi /Samatari/, the "tapir people," who are one of the most primitive groups of this people, stand strictly inimically opposed to any contact, and thus do not show even the slight traces of acculturation that the Waika do. As far as I can see, there is no reliable information available concerning the population groups east of the Sierra Parima, and unquestionably the picture for the Venezuelan area from whose northeastern part another group, named Okomatairi, has been reported will be improved later. The terms Waika and Shidishana (or Shiriana) used in the literature as a collective designation for these culturally similar virgin-forest groups are not very suitable, since they refer to subgroups; on the other hand, the name Guaharibo used by foreigners does not belong to the language of this people and is recognized only by the Shidishana. The only name that encompasses all the subgroups and is understood by the natives themselves as a general term is the word "Yanoama," which means "voice of the house" and contrasts with "nabe," by which all foreigners are meant indiscriminately -- all who do not speak

/115 cont./

101 the language of the Waika, Shidishana, or Shamatairi, therefore the neighboring Indians as well.

Thus the term "Yanoama" refers to the cultural and linguistic identity; it does not have the least political aspect. There is no tribe of the Yanoama, nor is there any tribe of the Waika, the Shidishana, or the Shamatairi. At most one can speak of the "people"; but one must bear in mind that there is no institution, no office, that is representative of this people. Also the cognizance of this term in the thinking of the natives /116/ remains general and therefore inevitably vague, parallel to the small amount of geographical knowledge, which is limited to what they themselves have traversed, that is, as a rule, to the circle of the nearest villages, which are about one to two days' journey away from one's own.

101 621 Geopolitical thought, which would find expression in a more extensive political organization, is unknown to the Yanoama; their conceptual world revolves around the village.

The village is the unit in which one thinks and after which one names himself: when questioned a Waika will never answer that he is a Waika or a Yanoama, but rather will give his village name, say, "Bolitaotedi," whereby "tedi" (village), like the Spanish "pueblo," refers less to the settlement and more to the

829 people who live in it. It seems obvious that one is a Waika, for the slight contact with civilization has not yet led in their thinking to distinguishing their own culture from that of foreigners; the foreigner has remained an individual guest with peculiar habits and has not yet become the representative of a large, strange

101 621 world. It is not obvious, however, to which village one belongs; village membership is the decisive political and sociological characteristic of the individual.

361 Externally the village is a clearing in the virgin forest, usually oval in ground plan, with a large diameter from 30 to 100 meters;

[162] the houses line the edge of this clearing. On the average a village is inhabited by about 100 persons. The villages of the Shamatairi south of the Orinoco, however, are much larger; according to our

2: Becher--1 E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

/V/

Foreword

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101 This monograph contains the results of a nine-month investigation which I conducted from October 1955 to June 1956 among two Indian tribes of northwest Brazil which are as yet unknown to science.

121 My journey and the analysis of its results were made possible through the generous support of the Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft /German Research Association/, for which I am deeply indebted to it.

114 I should like cordially to thank my esteemed teacher, Herr Prof. Dr. Franz Termer, for regarding this work, the completion of which he supported actively and in an advisory capacity, worthy of inclusion in the series of reports of the Hamburg Museum für Völkerkunde und Vorgeschichte /Museum for Ethnology and Prehistory/.

I was encouraged by Herr Prof. Darcy Ribeiro, head of the study division of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, to seek out these as yet uninvestigated tribes north of the middle Rio Negro. [122] Through his efforts I also obtained the approval of the Director and was given all possible assistance by this organization founded by Marshal Cândido Mariano da Silva Rondon, as well as a free flight with a military plane from Rio de Janeiro to Manaus. Hence I feel a sincere desire to express my gratitude to the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, especially to Herr Prof. Darcy Ribeiro and the Brazilian Air Force.

122 I thank the University of São Paulo, above all the Dean, Herr Dr. Paulo Sawaya, and the Assistant Dean Herr Prof. Dr. Antonio Soares Amora, for granting me a stipend from June 1954 to September 1955, which made it possible for me to broaden my knowledge of Brazilian ethnology under such outstanding scholars as Herr Prof. Dr. Herbert Baldus and Herr Prof. Dr. Egon Schaden and to prepare myself thoroughly for the subsequent work in the field. To these two gentlemen I shall remain deeply indebted.

114 Valuable advice which was very useful to me on my expedition was given me by Herr Prof. Dr. med. Henrique da Rocha Lima (†).

2: Becher--vii E-5 (1955-1956) 1960 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Surára
Pakidái

/X/

102
101
131
133

Location of the Settlement Area of the Surára and Pakidái

/5 cont./

114 culture, along with a word list (12), while the latter describes his

12. Salathé, 1931/32.

visits in the Xiriâna (Shiriana) and Waiká (Uaika) maloka which were still on the Demini, or rather a branch, in 1932 (13).

13. Holdridge, 1933.

•101 On the basis of a perusal of the research reports of Zerries (14) (15)
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14. Zerries, 1956a.

15. Zerries, 1956b.

and Schuster (16), as well as comparisons with ethnographic data

16. Schuster, 1958a.

and word lists which Salathé gathered among the Karimé (17),

17. Salathé, 1931/32.

Vinci among the Shiriana, Waika, and Samatari (18), and

18. Vinci, 1956.

Koch-Grünberg among the /6/ Xiriâna (Schirianá) groups, which he describes as linguistically isolated, and a few Waiká (Wafika) (19) (20),

19. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, pp. 454-456; 1923a, pp. 284 ff.

20. Koch-Grünberg, 1928, pp. 302-308.

it was possible to determine that the societies investigated belong to a relatively uniform culture group and even linguistically differ

Surára. Pakidái Shiriana Waica

/6 cont./

114 101 [127] [97]

from each other only slightly in dialectal deviations (see the appendix /see 3: Rodrigues, this file/) (21). How great their

21. Loukotka and Rivet already established the relationship of a few of these languages and grouped them under the general term "Širianá linguistic family," in which they include Širianá, Karimé, Waŕka, and Pusárakaú. (Loukotka, 1942, pp. 8/9; Rivet et Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140).

homogeneity is may be seen by the fact that the Surára and Pakidái call themselves Yanonámi and the Waiká and Xiriána, according to Zerries and Schuster, call themselves Yanoáma (22) (23).

22. Zerries, 1956a, p. 187.

23. Schuster, 1958a, pp. 115/16.

However, members of the Aramamesterí, Karauaterí, Puseheweterí, and even of the Xiriána, whom I met in the malokas of the Surára and Pakidái as wives, visitors, and captives, said that they were Yanonámi. Furthermore, the Surára chief Hewemão enumerated for me 42 more tribes between Catrimani and Rio Negro (24), friendly and hostile, pointing out that these

24. Becher, 1956.

must likewise be included.

In view of this and on the basis of the linguistic and cultural relationship, it would seem to be appropriate to adopt into South American ethnology Yanonámi or Yanoáma as a new designation for the linguistic and culture group made up of these small-sized and light-colored Indians of the northern Amazon. According to the investigations up to now, they occupy a relatively compact area which is bounded in the east and south by the Rio Branco and the Rio Negro, respectively, but in the north and west extends

Surára
Pakidái

/6 cont./

101 beyond the Uraricuera and the Parima range, respectively.
114 There can no longer be any doubt about the ethnic affiliation of this population. Koch-Grünberg was already of the opinion that in the case of the Xiriâna (Schirianá) and Waiká (Waíka) "it is not a matter of two different tribes, but merely of two divisions of one large nation" (25) (26). At the same place, however, the

25. Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 224.

26. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 290.

investigator expresses the conjecture, which was confirmed by the opinions of neighboring tribes, that the Waiká represent merely a subdivision of the Xiriâna, "with whom they live either peaceably or in bitter enmity" (25) (26) /see the footnotes above/. Their isolation from other tribes is, according to Ourique, "an example of the instinctive precaution of the race against its own deterioration and its downfall" (27).

27. Ourique, 1906, p. 24.

101 In this connection there is a significant hint by the Surára chief,
619 according to which there are two powerful tribes within the
[115] "Yanonámi nation" first the Xiriâna, who call themselves "Harateri," and secondly the Waiká, who, however, are constantly warring. All the smaller tribes are on the side of either one or the other, but at the same time are obliged to pay tribute
[438] and render service in war (28). The Surára and Pakidái, the
[114]

28. With regard to the Xiriâna, Koch-Grünberg already mentions this vassal relationship (Koch-Grünberg, 1922, p. 226), and Métraux also refers to it (Métraux, 1948, p. 861).

chief told me further, are allies of the Xiriâna and occasionally

/6 cont./
obtain by barter clay vessels, clay plates, bows, arrows, hammocks, baskets, belts, and upper-arm ornaments (29).

29. Pottery is not practiced at all by the Surára and Pakidái, and their self-made bows, arrows, hammocks, etc. are inferior in quality to those of the Xirifna.

/7/ IV. Historical Data

At the present time, in the winter months (rainy season), April-September, the Surára live at the Cachoeira dos Índios (Ill. 2 and 3), on the upper Rio Aracá, and the Pakidái in Taraquá, on a right branch of the middle Demini. The summer months (dry season), October-March, on the other hand, the two tribes spend together in a large, open maloka, which belongs to the Surára, in the virgin forest region between the Demini and Aracá rivers. This maloka lies 70 kilometers northeast of the Cachoeira dos Índios and about 100 kilometers south of the source region of the Orinoco.

Koch-Grünberg, on his map accompanying the work Vom Roroíma zum Orinoco /From the Roroíma to the Orinoco/, showed neither the Rio Demini nor the Rio Aracá and designates this region as "unknown territory." In his text he also says, "the entire large area between Rio Negro, Rio Branco and Uraricuéra is unexplored to this day" (30). Baldus likewise points out that in this area

30. Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 287.

"surprises still await the seeker of unknown tribes" (31).

31. Baldus, 1956a, p. 294.

/8 cont./
however, they had withdrawn into regions remote from the river. Their last maloka on the Demini was taken over by a Waiká tribe in 1934. This is the place where today the Indian protection post "Ajuricaba" is located, on the right bank of the middle Demini, just below the Cachoeira Auatsinaua (40) (41). In 1939, the

40. Holdridge visited the Xiriána here in 1932. (Holdridge, 1933, p. 380.)

41. According to information which Nimuendajú obtained in Manaus in 1927 from a man named Domingos Campos, Aruak-speaking Indians on the Demini were supposed to have been called Xiriána (Nimuendajú, 1955, pp. 150/51). This brings up all kinds of questions which are yet to be solved. Thus, there could have been an Aruak tribe of this name, for the shards which I found on the Demini, as well as the name of this river, indicate that members of that linguistic group once lived here. It might also be possible, however, that Aruak groups, after their subjugation by the Xiriána, became assimilated with the latter. On the other hand, it is not impossible that individual Xiriána adopted the Aruak language, and finally there still remains open the surmise that the Indians mentioned by Domingos Campos are not identical with the actual Xiriána, but were merely called that by the caboclo population.

In the literature, the two tribal designations "Xiriána" (members of the Aruak linguistic family) and "Xirianá" (independent linguistic family) (Loukotka, 1942,

Surára
Pakidái
Shiriana
Waica

/8 cont./

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174
101

41. (cont.)

pp. 8, 24, 52; Ribeiro, 1957, p. 99) have already become current. Nevertheless, I incline to the view that in the case of the Xiriána it is a matter of one and the same large, widely scattered Yanonámi tribe. The material and spiritual culture of the Xiriána with whom the Surára and Pakidái are allied (the latter and the Xiriána whom I met among them themselves regularly accent the first a) corresponds perfectly with the one that Koch-Grünberg calls "Schirianá." The latter points out in one work that "Schirianá" is their self-designation, while "Schirischána" is a name which their neighbors and mortal enemies, the "Maquiritáres," gave them (Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 454). It should also be mentioned that the designation "Shrirana," according to Vinci, is a Makuxí /Macusi/ word (Vinci, 1956, p. 107).

167 In 1939, the
648 Waiká, too, gave up this maloka and moved to the Rio Mapulau, a left tributary of the upper Demini. Here, at the beginning of the year 1956, at the time of my stay among the Surára, they were attacked by a Xiriána tribe and destroyed. Surára warriors told me that all the Waiká men were killed and the women and girls were taken captives.

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114 As inhabitants of the Rio Aracá, Nimuendajú entered on the above-mentioned map of this region (see p. 16), with the date of 1874, the Bahuana, an Aruak tribe. With reference to this, the Surára chief remarked that this tribe also goes by the proper name of Pootarí and was an enemy of the Surára, Pakidái, Xiriána etc.; at the present time it lives in the source region of the Aracá

/134/

114 During his stay among the Surára Indians, Hans Becher was able to compile an extensive vocabulary of their language. This still needs linguistic revision and further checking. Even now, however, it makes it possible to establish perfectly clearly the relationship of this language to the languages of the Waika /Waica/, Širiana /Shiriana/, and Karimé. There is a very close correlation, [101] apparent at first glance, which corresponds to the cultural unity of these Indian groups, whom Becher has classified under the name Yanonámi /Yanoama/.

The first vocabulary of a language of this group was published by Koch-Grünberg in 1913 and -- considerably expanded -- in 1928, and comes from the Širiana (Širianá) of the Uraricuera (and its tributary the Uraricaparú) (1). In 1932 there appeared

1. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 458; 1928, pp. 302-308.

a vocabulary of the Karimé Indians of the Catrimani River compiled by G. Salathé (2). Further material was then published by

2. Salathé, 1932, pp. 314-316.

A. Vinci, who added to his travel account a vocabulary of the Warema-Širiana (or -Waika, listed by him as Uarema, Guaica and Scirisciana) on the Merevari River (3). In 1954-55 O. Zerries

3. Vinci, 1956, pp. 354-357.

and M. Schuster collected as yet unpublished material among the Waika of the upper Orinoco, and in 1956 Becher presented his vocabulary from the Surára and a number of expressions from the Pakidái. This, to my knowledge, is all that is known about these languages at present.

114 As early as 1913 Koch-Grünberg found that Širiana was in-
197 dependent of the neighboring Karaiben /Carib/ languages and apparently isolated (4). The latter view was adopted in 1924 by

4. Koch-Grünberg, 1913, p. 455.

/11/

Introduction

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[133] The native tribes that are discussed in the present report inhabit the northwest zone of the Escudo Guayanés, located in the southern part of the Republic of Venezuela. As the natural boundaries of this region, which we call "the Orinoco-Ventuari region," one may point out the rivers: the Orinoco in the north and west; the Ventuari in the south, and the Caura in the east. Geographically the zone is enclosed between 64°-68°W. and 4°-8° N. approximately. The northern part of it corresponds to the Distrito Cedeño of Bolivar state, while the southern part, as Departamento Atures, belongs to the Territorio Federal Amazonas.

133
101 Hydrographically speaking, the region includes five river basins which carry off its water and which at the same time set off the various areas of native distribution (1).

[128] 1. We do not include here the small native groups who recently arrived (Guahibo, Piapoco, Puinave, Curipaco). They live along the periphery of the region, except the Guahibo, who advanced a few years ago to the Manapiare river.

a) The basin of the Cuara, with the Mayoncon /Maioncon/, a subgroup of the Makiritare, the Yecuana, and with some Sanemá groups;
b) The basin of the Cuchivero, with the Panare Indians and some unknown groups on the headwaters;
c) The basin of the Suapure, which, with the exception of some Panare nuclei, does not at the present time have any native populations;
d) The basin of the Sipapo, with the Piaroa and Macó Indians;
e) The basin of the Ventuari, with the Yabarana Indians on the Manapiare River, the Yecuana (Decuana) subtribe of the Makiritare, and the Nabudub, a Sanemá subgroup (cf. hydrographic map /see p.12/).

Guahibo SC14
Yabarana SS22
Panare SS21
Sanema
Saliva SS15
Makiritare SS20

/11 cont./

All these basins, without exception, pour their great volumes of water into the Orinoco, which, like a gigantic arc, runs across the north of the Escudo de Guayana, thus enclosing all the native tribes studied here and marking the farthermost boundary and end of their primitive world (cf. ethnic map /see p. 5 /). /12/ /Map appears here./

/13/ It is interesting to point out that the extensive fluvial network of the Orinoco-Ventuari zone does not serve the majority of the tribes as a means of communication or as an outstanding source of food. The Panare of the basin of the Cuchivero do not travel by river, and on the Cuchivero we found only one dugout /bongo/, which was used solely for crossing the river. In general the curiara /dugout canoe/ seems to be a foreign element in Panare culture, introduced recently by the Creoles. Nor did the Yabarana of the basin of the Ventuari use the curiara, and they recently learned from their neighbors, the Makiritare, the art of making them. For the Sanemá the river represents an obstacle rather than a means of communication, and they use rafts in order to cross it. At the present time, only the groups who live in symbiosis with the Makiritare make curiaras, but there is not the slightest doubt that this industry was adopted recently. The Sanemá spend less time at fishing than do the Panare, Yabarana, and Guahibo, since the latter too are among those Indians oriented toward the land, with its roads, rather than toward the rivers and navigation. The only real voyagers of the Orinoco-Ventuari zone are the Piaroa and the Makiritare, and the fame of the latter exceeds that of the former.

Culturally, the Makiritare belong to a Neo-Indian level, as do their cousins of the same linguistic affiliation, the Panare and the Yabarana. It is interesting, however, to call attention to the fact that to speak of Caribe /Carib/ Indians is not the same eo ipso as speaking of voyaging Indians. There are Neo-Indians who are ignorant of the curiara and who developed agriculture, not in a Meso-Indian culture (of fishermen and voyagers), but basically on top of a Paleo-Indian culture (of hunters). Meso-Indian cultures, such as that of the Warao, for example, and possibly that of the Piaroa, represent a specialization of the Paleo-American who was

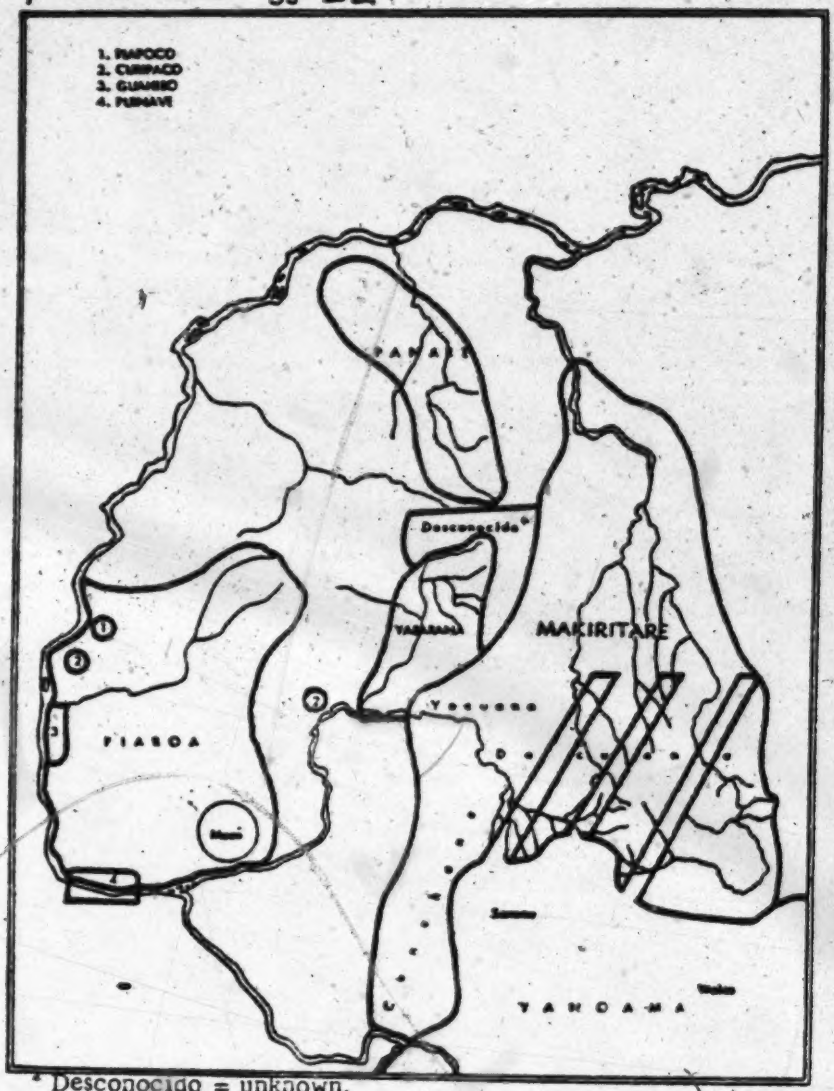
[Text continues on P. 4]

4 Wilbert--5 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Achagua SC5
Saliva SS15
Panare SS21
Makiritare SS20
Yabarana SS22

Sanema
Puinave SC18
Barauna SQ27
Guahibo SC14

Yapa SAGBPA MYa 101 102 133



* Desconocido = unknown.

Map 2. Distribution of the native tribes of the Orinoco-Ventauri region.

4: Wilbert--20 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

/177/

The Sanemá

101 The word Sanemá appears here as the designation for a subtribe of the Yanoama. The Sanemá were called Guaharibo and were sometimes confused also with the Shirishana /Shiriana/.

The terms Guaharibo and Shirishana (written with abusive orthographic freedom) lack proper sense when applied to the Sanemá, and they must not, as has heretofore happened, be applied to this tribe or to the peripheral bands, who accepted them as designations used by the Whites (Guaharibo) and by the Makiritare (Shirishana).

The name Guaharibo, like Macú and Tapuya, is a vague and collective designation which includes many primitive tribes and which, therefore, has little classificatory value and will not stand up to scientific and impartial criticism.

The term Shirishana, for its part, seems to us to be a nickname rather than a generic denomination, since it means "araguato monkey" and is used by the Caribe in a contemptuous tone when they refer to the Sanemá, whom they consider to be subhuman beings born from the dust of their shadows. The name also lends itself easily to confusion with the Crichaná of the Ianaperi River and of Caribe affiliation.

For the above-mentioned reasons we prefer the term Sanemá, which means "people," to that of Guaharibo, which is equivalent to "savage," or to Shirishana, "araguato monkey." This preference has more scientific aspects and more human respect.

[114] It would seem that the term Yanoama was introduced into ethnographic literature by Zerries (1956a, p. 187) and was accepted, quite rightly, by Schuster (1958, p. 115) and Becher (1960, p. 6) as a generic name for the Casapare, Sanemá, Waica, Samatari, Surara, and Pakidai.

128 101 In the present treatise we shall consider the Yanoama as a tribe, not so much in the politico-social sense, as in the linguistic-cultural sense, since the Yanoama, in general, represent a specific culture made up /178/ /map appears here/ /179/ of the various peculiar subcultures of the diverse subtribes which live in a coherent territory, which speak closely related languages, and possess essentially similar economic and sociological forms.

4: Wilbert--21 E-4, 5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

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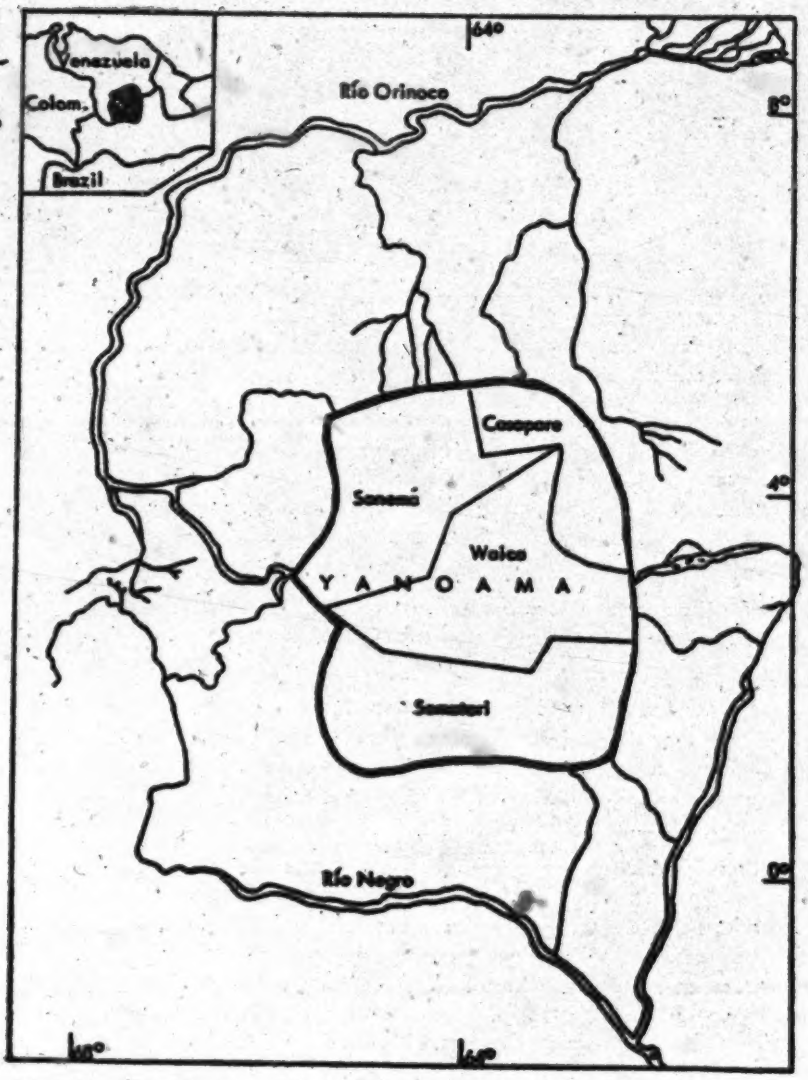
102
131
133



Map 7. Distribution of the Yanoama Indians (preliminary).

Bari SS 13 Sanema
Makiritare SS 20 Warao SS 18
Saliva SS 15

/179 cont./

Y 131 127 128 We have knowledge of the distribution of the Sanemá on the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura from our own expedition's personnel, while we took the data on the Casapare from the excellent cartographic work of Montoya (1958), who visited the zone over a period of several months.

Y [101] /180/ The name Casapare is employed by the Sanemá to designate their neighbors to the east. Koch-Grünberg (1923) had already mentioned the group of the Upper Uraricaparâ, a tributary of the Uraricuera and the one that occupied the right shore of the Uraricuera River, facing the Marutani range, on the Motomotó River. The broken lines indicate, approximately, the territory occupied by each Yanoama subtribe. The location of the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma comes from the map published by Civrieux (1959), and that of the other settlements of that tribe was verified by the personnel of our expedition.

M 131 127

Y 131 161 According to this map, the territory inhabited at the present time by the Yanoama is located between 0° 30' – 5° 11 and 62° – 65° 30' W. If we grant that the total Yanoama population reaches the figure of 20,000 individuals spread out over an area of 150,000 square kilometers, we recognize as the density index of the population that of one person per 7.5 square kilometers. There are authors who, being overly generous, raise the Yanoama population to 30,000 and even 50,000 inhabitants, but this number seems exaggerated to us.

B S L 161 177 It is interesting to point out that the highest figures for the native population correspond to the primitive tribes of hunters and fishermen or to those who had an incipient or rudimentary agriculture, such as: the Barí (Motilones, Mapé), 2,000; the Piaroa, 4,000; and the Warao, 8,000.

They are also the tribes which have had least contact with the white man. There is an interesting and instructive relation between the demographic datum of a native population and the number of years that it has had contact with Whites: the higher the latter, the lower the former.

Sanema
Warao 5518
Saliva 5515
Bari 5513

/180 cont./

The Barí suffered greatly from the Yupa, the Piaroa and Warao from the Caribe, but these sufferings were minimal compared to the oppression to which other tribes were subjected by the Whites. The Yanoama have been attacked for hundreds of years by the Caribe, who surrounded their territory with a semicircle along the north; the Yanoama endured something similar from the Arawak, who surrounded them in a semicircle along the south. But all in all, the White has not been very successful so far in approaching this primitive population and his destructive influence has not affected their ancestral customs. The Caribe and Arawak have declined gradually in vigor and numbers; now we are witnesses of the triumph of the Yanoama over their neighbors of a more refined culture, for not only did they defend their territory, but were successful in spreading to the north and west.

The strongest and most efficaceous ally of the Yanoama has been the Cordillera de Parima, together with the dense tropical selva of the Territorio Amazonas. In the /181/ fateful period of persecution they have always found a safe refuge in the protecting selva. Nevertheless, as of relatively recent times, the different Yanoama subtribes are beginning to realize that the space beyond the conventional boundaries of their tribal territory is sparsely populated, almost deserted. The number of their traditional enemies has diminished considerably, and the invasions of their territory have had practically no consequences. In this manner they have gained almost 100 kilometers to the north of the Sierra de Pacarima, where the Casapare now live on the Upper Paragua, and the northern group of the Sanemá on the headwaters of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura rivers.

The center of distribution of the Casapare is located to the south of the Sierra Pacarima in the basin of the Rio Branco. We know this Yanoama subtribe only through a few sporadic superficial contacts, and the people, as well as their territory, remain practically unknown. For this reason we consider the name Casapare with which we designated all the Yanoama in the zone of study as strictly preliminary, and we would not be surprised if we had to change it in the future for a more exact and adequate name.

/181 cont./

101 name. We included the Casapare among the Yanoama on the basis of information from the Sanemá of the Erebato, who assured us that they speak a language similar to theirs.

101 127 The limited scientific data at our disposal and which refer to the Casapare all come from the northern group, and their interpretation is relatively difficult because of the fact that on the Uraricuera River the Waica and Sanemá zones of distribution come together with that of the Casapare, and the chroniclers were unable to distinguish with precision and clarity the representatives of the different subtribes.

101 The ethnic differentiation which appeared very early in the respective biographical sources was that of the Shirishana and Guaharibo (with their multiple orthographic variations). At the present time there is not the slightest doubt that we are dealing with Yanoama Indians, but we do not think that it is proper to identify the Guaharibo and Shirishana as a single group with two distinct names. It is our opinion, on the contrary, that each name designates a more or less distinct group of the Yanoama, and that "Shirishana" refers to the Casapare, and "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá. The Sanemá of the Territorio Amazonas of Venezuela have been known from the beginning by the name Guaharibo. The confusion of the two terms originates precisely in the northern zone under discussion, where the two subtribes live in close geographic proximity. Thus, we believe that among the Yanoama of the Paragua there are Sanemá in the west or on the headwaters of the Paragua itself, while the Casapare /182/ occupy the territory toward the east and are established principally along the length and on the banks of the Paramichi.

This close contact between the representatives of the two subtribes is recent, as we shall point out later on, and it is almost certain that today there is some genetic and cultural fusion between the two groups. To the south of the Sierra Pacarima they also have some relations, but more sporadically, since they occupy two distinct zones; the Casapare (Shirishana) on the Uraricuera to the north of Maraca Island; and the Sanemá (Guaharibo) and the Waica, the territory farther to the southwest.

4: Wilbert--26 E-4,5 (1958) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Casapare
Makiritare SS 20
Pemon SS 16

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[127]

/132 cont./

With regard to the Casapare of the Uraricuera River, we have the data supplied us by Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 284-319), and a comparison of his "Shirishana" vocabulary with the "Shirishana" vocabulary of Armellada and Matallana (1942, pp. 101-108) gives us the impression that both are very much alike, but differ greatly from the Sanemá family (cf. glotto-chronological sketch see p. 49 /). In spite of the fact that they now occupy adjacent geographic zones, we prefer to make a clear distinction in the literature between the "Shirishana" (Casapare) and "Guaharibo" (Sanemá), considering them as two different subtribes of the Yanoama tribe. According to their linguistic separation, they represent, in fact, the two extreme poles of maximum distance (18).

18. Note that this does not mean that we also continue with the old nomenclature, but rather that the name "Shirishana" of the literature corresponds to the Casapare subtribe, and the name "Guaharibo" to the Sanemá subtribe, of this work.

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[illegible] their center of distribution in Brazil, the Casapare harasse[illegible] their neighbors, the Pemón and the Makiritare, with continuo[illegible]raiding from the time that the latter arrived at the northern slope of the Serranía. It seems that the Taurepán (Pemón) were never able to establish a pueblo farther west than the eastern point of Maraca Island on the Uraricuera and that the Makiritare maintained their advanced posts at the cost of great losses and sacrifices, until finally they were forced to abandon them in the face of the constant threat and the imminent danger of losing their lives.

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The Makiritare began to lose ground at least some 120 years ago, when the Yanoama killed a number of Makiritare Indians (Schomburgk, 1841, pp. 437-8, 444), and it would seem that at the present time Tarakuñiña on the upper Yararejuri is the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía.

P
197 /184 cont./ Casapare
799 Auake 555
161 Pemon 55 16
expansionists, and their number at present is quite small; they number 1,800 individuals and show a density of 1:16.5 square kilometers.

Y
177 The Mayoncon and Arecuna, along the north, do not make
648 an effective barrier to Yanoama expansion. Here, however they are liable to clash with the already advanced civilization of these regions where they will meet the Indian, the Negro, and the White with individual cultures irreducible by the Paleo-Indian culture of the Yanoama.

Y
101 Among the tribes which have been absorbed by the Yanoama
619 are the Kaliana, Auakí, etc., about whose identification there is some confusion in the literature.

Kaliana, however, is the name which the Casapare give to
104 the Sapé. The latter were identified as Kaliana by a native companion of Koch-Grünberg (1923, pp. 12-13; cf. idem, 1922, p. 227), while Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 103) identify them with the name "Shirianá" (Casapare) as Karianapuik. In 1956 the Sapé (Kariana, Kaliana) were visited by Montoya, who classifies them as related to the "Shirishana" (1958, p. 168). "It is an isolated group," says Montoya, "which lives on the Antabarí River and upper Pao; in the zones of the upper Paragua and Pauré-Murán River.

A
241 /185/ "They devote themselves to agriculture, but produce
433 only as much as they consume or a little more for barter with the
439 Shirianna who are travelers and supply them with salt and other items which they lack.

A
501 "Some of them have learned to make curiaras in such a rudimentary manner as to make the Moñongón Indians, the masters of this art, smile. But they do make very fragile 'shells,' which allow them to travel to hunting and fishing zones, carrying
A light loads.

582 "They marry frequently with the Shirianna groups and even
A with the Arekuna. They appear to be destined to disappear as
101 a differentiated ethnic group or to be totally absorbed by the Shirianna, more numerous and nearer than the Arekuna" (Montoya, ibid.).

Auake 555

/185 cont./

101 [181] [114] As can be judged from these indications regarding the character of Sapé culture, this is a little-developed culture, and Montoya is right in differentiating them from the Caribe. But, judging from the Sapé vocabulary which accompanies the work of Armellada-Matallana and another by Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 308-317), it is not possible to identify the Sapé group as "related to the Shirianna."

101 114 [361] The Auaké, furthermore, are identical with the Arutani, who were visited by Armellada and Matallana during their expedition to the Paragua (1942, pp. 75, 86). They found them living in two rancherias; one near Maihia Falls on the Paragua River and across from the Momurán, a tributary of the same, on the right bank, with one house and 20 inhabitants. The comparison of the Auaké vocabulary of Koch-Grünberg (1928, pp. 308-313) with the Arutani vocabulary leaves no doubt but that the two are of the same tongue.

114 105 181 [362] [501] Both groups, the Sapé (Kaliana) as well as the Arutani (Auaké), seem to have a very poorly developed culture, probably like that of the Yanoama. Montoya describes Sapé culture with typically marginal traits, and Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 75) say of the Arutani that "these Indians are the poorest that we have seen on the whole trip; they live in an absolutely miserable rancho and the little boats that they use are made of bejucos."

175 31 [101] [622] The Portuguese commission on boundaries (1787) mentions this tribe as Aoaquis, inhabitants of the sources of the Canamé, where they lived in large numbers under the command of three captains (Coudreau, 1887:2, p. 393). In 1838 Robert Schomburgk found some Oewaku on the middle Uraricuera; he describes them as a nomad tribe that lived on the headwaters of the Uraricapará and on the source of the Paragua. In 1882 the Auaké (Arutani) /186/ were visited for the first and last time in their own home by a Comisión de Límits, which found a small group on the upper Uraricapará. They had a large, round house, provided with a palisaded wall. The latter served them as protection against the attacks of their neighbors (Relatorio, 1884, p. 189; Grupe and Thode, 1890, p. 253). In 1911 Koch-Grünberg (1923, p. 12;

[342] [712]

Avake 555

/186 cont./

Y 114 797 162 indigenous groupings is interesting. In their report (1942, p. 87) they mention a total number of 296 Indians counted.

/187/ This result contrasts with the one obtained by the expedition of Montoya, and, in spite of his having traveled over much more territory than the Capuchin fathers, we must admit that Montoya found native populations in 1956 where the fathers saw none in 1940. This has its value in the first place inasmuch as it refers to Yanoama populations (Casapare, Sanemá), and it is significant for the reconstruction of the migratory history of the Yanoama. Armellada and Matallana (1942, p. 76) say that a rancheria near the mouth of the Pumpirí, a river which flows into the Paragua on the right bank, was "the only one which the Shiriana Indians have on the Venezuelan side in the Paragua basin." Twenty-six years later Montoya (1956) and his companions discovered Yanoama rancherias established from the Marí River to the headwaters of the Paragua. This indicates that the expansion of the Casapare and Sanemá is of very recent date in this zone of the Paragua and that it achieved its present volume only in the last decades. The marginal tribes, such as the Sapé and Arutani, have been pushed toward the north and are in the process of being absorbed by the Yanoama in the south and by the Caribe and the Whites in the north.

Y 162 167 114 Y [361] A [167] [648]

Referring to the Yanoama of the Paragua, Montoya distinguishes the Guaharibo, Guaika, and Shirianna. According to his excellent map, the Guaharibo and the Guaica live between the upper Caura and the headwaters of the Paragua itself and the river Okasiarí. It is possible that these are the Sanemá and Waica. The Shirianna occupy the Paragua River from the Marí River to the source of the Paramichí River, and these seem to represent the Casapare of our nomenclature. The region of the greatest penetration by the latter into Venezuelan territory seems to be via the Sharopae River (3° 50') from where the route to the Uraricuera River starts.

Y ● 101

According to Montoya (1958, pp. 173-174), the Guaharibo (Sanemá) are almost totally ignorant of agriculture and cross rivers by means of their characteristic bridges, which consist simply of two thick lianas, parallel and one above the other, the upper one serving as a handrail.

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/187 cont./

105 181 241 245 266

The Guaika (Waica) are considered by the above-mentioned author as "the natives with the most primitive and wild life of all those inhabiting the great region of the Venezuelan Guayana..." They have an incipient agriculture; they cultivate bananas and plantains as the principal basis of their diet, which they complement with the fruit of the pijiguao palm. They practice endocannibalism, consuming the bones of the cremated dead.

286 342 411 491 494

Their hammocks are knotted, their houses are triangular, and they use bows and arrows of various types, according to their uses. They keep the bones of many animals, travel by land, very rarely by water, and build bridges similar to the style of the Guaharibo (Sanemá).

/188/ Regarding the Shirianna (Casapare), Montoya says (1958) that "the real Shirianna live on the banks of river, building very stable settlements and devoting themselves to an agriculture already relatively advanced." They obtain curiaras from the Mayoncon, but have also learned to make their own, although in a rudimentary way. They use bows and arrows for hunting, but "above everything else, they are traders and travelers. They constantly travel into Brazil, leaving from the upper Paragua, using the route of the Shoropae River, Urarikuera and Parima, to Boavista." They differ from the other natives of the Paragua basin in that they are tall and strong, healthy, and well nourished.

361 241 484 439 411

142 146

114 ● 101

The last report on the Yanoama of the northeast was published by Gheerbrandt (1955, pp. 345-349), and in this report there appears for the first time the name Kaserapai, which must be an orthographic variation of the name Casapare which we use to designate a whole subtribe and not only a local group as the above-named author has done.

101 114 648

Navigating the Uraricuera in the year 1950, Gheerbrandt met and heard of various Yanoama groups with different names. Very near the Sierra Marutani he came upon the Guadema on the left bank of the river named. The Guadema were very much afraid of the Kaserapai, who had killed the majority of the Guadema and were in open conflict with Waikas and Waitschas on the Uraricuera. It is possible that this may be a reference to an encounter between Sanemá, Waica, and Casapare groups, but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard.

4: Wilbert--34 E-4,5 (1358) 1963 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Makiritare SS 20

600 /186 cont./
M but the extant data offer no certainty in this regard. It is inter-
114 esting that Ghearbrandt (1955, p. 348) is of the opinion that the
167 Makiritare had left the Urariquera some twenty years previously.
Y The Guadema seem to be different from the Casapare,
• 101 according to what one can deduce from the above-mentioned book; probably it is a matter of a local Sanemá or Waica group.

The center of distribution of the Sanemá is the basin of the Padamo River, a tributary of the upper Orinoco. Their territory is bounded on the south by Waica territory, on the west by the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma, on the north by the Makiritare of the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, and on the east by the little known territory of the Casapare.

Y If we judge from the present situation of the distribution
101 of the Yanoama, it is quite probable that the first Yanoama
197 with whom the Whites had contact on their trips along the upper Orinoco were the Sanemá, who appear in historical sources as the Guaharibo. One finds the Guaharibo frequently mentioned together with the Waica, but it is interesting that from the very first reports authors made a distinction between Waica and Guaharibo

Y /189/ Caulin (1958, pp. 305-306), writing in 1775, places
175 the Guaribe on the Maraca and its tributaries. According to him,
101 they are white in color like the Spaniards and are the same "uaribas" already mentioned by the "Expedición de Solano." Humboldt also speaks of Guaicas and of Guaharibos, having met representatives of them in the Esmeralda Mission. Spruce (1908: 1, pp. 396-398), who met an old Guaharibo man on his trip on the Casiquiare, is the first one to leave us the fullest and most authentic information regarding the Yanoama of the upper Orinoco. According to this author, the Guaharibo call themselves Kudé-Kubui, but it is difficult today to decide whether these are Guaharibo or Waica. We have a like opinion regarding the Guaharibo of Chaffanjon (1889). It is possible that the Sanemá may have occupied zones farther toward the Casiquiare and the Cunucunuma, but the Arawak and Caribe of this zone occupied these places before the arrival of the Whites, and the boundaries were established by the tribes interested in them.

Y 174 101 /189 cont./

The expansion of the Sanemá to the north, that is, from the Padamo to the upper Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura, is relatively recent, but, to judge from the data given us by glottochronology, the separation of the various groups of the subtribe corresponds to 600-1,700 years. We established contact with three northern groups of the Sanemá: the Nabudub of the upper Ventuari, the Taclaudub of the upper Caura, and the Pubmatari of the Canaracuni. They apparently represent Sanemá groups which are quite well established, and the internal distance of this linguistic family is, in a way, surprising.

Y 101 184

The Sanemá of the Padamo and of the upper Orinoco are practically unknown to science, and it is expected that the cultural difference between them and their brothers who live north of 4° and in close contact with the Makiritare is relatively pronounced.

Y 101 648 167

The geographic separation of the Sanemá into a southern group and another northern one is recent and is due to the fact that in 1947 Captain Cardona had to make a landing field on the Canaracuni (personal communication), and, since there were no Indians in the zone to help him in his venture, he went to Brazil and brought the first Sanemá to this region of Venezuela.

Y 167

This date marks the beginning of the infiltration of the Yanoama element on a larger scale into the land of the Makiritare, their

Y M 643

neighbors on the northwest, with whom they have lived in deep enmity from remote times. While the Makiritare of the Cunucunuma still do not tolerate large groups of Yanoama in their territory, those of the Ventuari, Erebato, and Caura live in close contact

Y M [179]

with large groups of the Sanemá subtribe. This was the way in which Makiritare culture of the tropical selva type penetrated to that essentially /190/ preagricultural tribe composed of hunters

Y M 648

and gatherers with a very rudimentary culture. The Sanemá received extremely bad treatment at the hands of the Makiritare, comparable to that received by a slave at the hands of his master, for which reason toward the year 1950 the Sanemá revolted against

4 [411]

the Makiritare and declared a war without quarter against them. It was then that the different Makiritare subtribes united to repulse the Sanemá, whom they conquered in various encounters, thanks to their fire-arms.

Makiritare SS 20

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Y
641 /190 cont./ scorn them, and, at first sight, they seemed to be unworried, but the knowledge that they no longer live alone in the land of their fathers, and the fact of having heard that four days prior to our arrival /191/ at the conuco an Indian who had sought refuge by climbing a tree was shot by a Sanemá arrow and fell M Y lifeless into the river, constantly tortured them.

582 A powerful stimulus which always encouraged the Makiritare
563 on their numerous trips was to get a wife among their neighbors
177 of the same tribe. Nowadays, despite the intense scorn which the
648 Makiritare profess toward the Yanoama, taking a wife from that
M [186] tribe is not considered an impossible or degrading thing; there are many Yanoama women who have married Makiritare men (cf. Grelier, 1955b, p. 10). This matrimonial interchange inevitably carries with it an assimilation of cultures between the two tribes, a process in which the Makiritare cultural pattern will
Y dominate that of the Yanoama and the Yanoama genes will
167 infiltrate the Makiritare gene pool. There is not the least doubt
563 but that the Sanemá, who were brought in for a short time, ar-
177 rived at the upper Ventuari and Caura where they took up resi-
648 dence to stay, and that the present fusion between the Caribe and the Yanoama ought not to be explained so much by the good will of the former as by the vitality of the latter.

Y
● 101 The Waica subtribe occupies the central part of the present Yanoama territory, that of the upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the mouth of the Ocamo, including also the southern bank of the river (Barker, 1953, p. 434). As we have already mentioned, they appear to live also in the general arc of the upper Rio Branco and its western tributaries, and Schuster (1958, p. 114) is very probably right when he says that the Sierra Parima does not bound the Waica zone, but that it extends to Brazilian territory.

Y
[77 We have already mentioned the first contacts which the
797 Whites had with the Waica, and, after a somewhat unfruitful effort by Hamilton Rice at the beginning of the present century, the Waica world went without contact with science until the New
Y Tribes Mission was able to start peaceful relations with the Waica
114 through the missionary James Paul Barker. Some ethnographic data were also published on this Yanoama subtribe by several

/191 cont./

114 members of the Franco-Venezuelan Expedition to the Upper Orinoco (1951) (cf. Grelier, 1955b; Anduze, 1958). Finally the Waica were studied between April of 1954 and August of 1955 by the German ethnologists Zerries and Schuster, who are preparing a monograph on this Yanoama subtribe.

•101 114 The southernmost groups of the Yanoama are known as Xamatari, Araraibo (Seitz, 1960), Surara and Pakidai (Becher, 1960). The latter presented a very extensive study based on the experiences that he had during the nine months (October 1955--June 1956) that he lived among them.

101 128 Because of the lack of comparative data, we have considered all these /192/ local groups as parts of a Samatari (people of the tapir) subtribe who represent a very autocthonous entity of the Yanoama. We would give warning, however, that this classification is subject to future changes, as is also the map of Yanoama distribution which we have just discussed.

126 192 The linguistic material which the author of the present work was able to assemble during his stay among the Sanemá consists of a vocabulary of the Nabudub, who live on the upper Ventuari, and of the Sanemá of the upper Caura. The former vocabulary contains 270 words, and the latter, 730 entries (Wilbert, 1961b).

128 192 174 197 In order to classify this material within the different Yanoama idioms, we compared the two vocabularies with others belonging to various Yanoama languages, and in this way we established, insofar as we were able, a basic vocabulary, calculating the minimum distances existing between them, according to the glottochronological method.

192 197 174 126 127 We have indicated that the Nabudub and Sanemá vocabularies were compiled by the author. The vocabulary of the Pubmatari (Sanemá of the Canaracuni) comes from Vinci (1956, pp. 351-357). This vocabulary has a total of 278 words, 73 of which correspond to the basic vocabulary. According to what the author says on pages 159 (1956) and 133 (1959), this is most probably a Pubmatari vocabulary.

/193 cont./

174 197 [192] 127] We were not able to obtain the vocabulary of the Karimé published by Salathé (1932, pp. 314-316). Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 134-138) places it between the Waica and the Casapare (Schiriana of Koch-Grünberg).

According to the results of the lexico-statistical calculation (cf. p. 47), it can be said that the idioms compared form a linguistic conglomerate whose internal divergences date from 6-35 minimal centuries (mc). By their temporal distribution they constitute two more or less distinct groups: a) a Sanemá family with Nabudub, Sanemá, and Pubmatari, with an internal divergence of 6-17 mc.; and b) a Casapare family with Samatari, Waica, and Casapare and with an internal divergence of 8-21 mc. The extreme languages are Nabudub (of the Sanemá) and Casapare. The distance of the Waica from the three Sanemá idioms corresponds to 17 mc., which is the same as the maximum internal distance of the Sanemá family, and the Nabudub have the same difficulty in understanding a Pubmatari or a Waica; they should, however, understand each other, although with some difficulty. The Waica has greater ties with the Samatari, with whom he can communicate orally without any great difficulty.

Other classifications of the Yanoama idioms were made by Rivet (1924, p. 678), Loukotka (1944, pp. 8-9), Mason (1950, p. 254), Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140), McQuown (1955), Swadesh (1959), and Dall'Igna Rodrigues (1960, pp. 136-137).

Koch-Grünberg (1913, pp. 455-458) had established by 1913 the independence of the Yanoama idiom (Shiriana) from the Caribe and added that the idiom apparently represented an isolated language. Rivet (1924, p. 678) and W. Schmidt (1926, p. 211) shared the opinion of Koch-Grünberg regarding the affiliation and independence of the "Shirishana" family. /194/ The classification of the "Shirishana Family" by Rivet-Loukotka (1952, p. 1140) includes the following idioms:

Shirishana Family

[101] a) Shirishana (or Guaharibo), who live dispersed in small groups in the interior, along the tributaries of the

/194 cont./

174 197 Uraricuera and on the southern slopes of the Sierra de Parima;

● 101 b) Karime (or Shauári), on the Catemany River in the same region;

c) Waika, who live on the upper Ocamo and Mocajahy, right tributaries of the upper Orinoco;

d) Pusárakáu, an unknown wild tribe which lives in the Sierra Parima.

174 197 As we mentioned above, we are inclined to differentiate between Shirishana (Casapare) and Guaharibo (Sanemá), which would seem to be linguistically justified by the distance of 23-35 mc between them. Rivet bases his opinion, it would seem, [127] on Koch-Grünberg's material (1928), which we have also used in our comparison. The Pusárakáu idiom (d), which also appears in Loukotka's classification (1944, pp. 8-9), is a completely unknown idiom and therefore does not figure in Mason's classification (1950, p. 254), which presented the following Shirishaná grouping:

SHIRISHANÁ

[101] A.--Waharibo (Guaharibo)

1. Shirianá

a) Waicá (Guaica, Uaica)

B.--Carimé (Karimé)

174 197 114 According to Mason, Shirianá and the less important Carimé are the principal idioms of the family. This observation is based upon Koch-Grünberg's material (1928, Shiriana), which was identified in our comparison as Casapare, and, as the greater separation of the Yanoama stock corresponds to that language, we must admit the value of Mason's opinion. Carimé does not figure in our classification.

Furthermore, Mason is of the opinion that the Waica idiom is, possibly, a dialect of Shirianá (Casapare), but, according to the glottochronological calculation, he does not seem to be on firm ground. The distance between the two idioms is 21 mc, which is much greater than a dialectal difference of 5-7 mc. Waica appears on the graph as closer to Sanemá (17-18mc). The opinion of /195/ many researchers that Shirianá (Casapare) and Waica are descended from the Guaharibo (Sanemá) seems to have some justification.

/199 cont./

128 attributed to the other subtribes also, but we do not believe it proper to make an indiscriminate generalization, particularly if we bear in mind that the subtribes seem to be carriers of different subcultures.

●101 The Sanemá live on the upper Ventuari, the Erebato, and the Caura. It is therefore a matter of the Sanemadub, Nabadub, and Pubmatari and their various local groups already mentioned in the introduction. We can, to begin with, divide these Sanemá into two groups: those who live in close association with the Makiritare, and those who, although living in the land of the Makiritare, have not been able to establish permanent relationships with them. For which reason it is difficult to record in a definitive and absolute fashion precise demographic data, and we view those which we publish here with certain reservations.

/200/

101 A. Sanemá of the upper Caura (Pubmatari)

162

Locality	No. Inhabitants	Observations
1. Canaracuni	300	In the border zone there are several nomadic bands with specific names, who accept the term "Sanemá" as a generic name of theirs. They frequently change their stopping places between Brazil and Venezuela.
2. Wanaña	200	
3. Yemekuni	300	
4. Caura source	100	
5. Nomadic bands	500	
Total	1,400 estimated individuals	

162 B. Sanemá of the upper Erebato (Sanemadub)

1. Kariana-sodi	40
2. Wasaña	62
3. Udehuduña	125
4. Kuyuhiña	143
Total	370 individuals counted 1960

BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS OF THE WAICA INDIANS OF VENEZUELA.[1]

MIGUEL LAYRISSE, ZULAY LAYRISSE, AND JOHANNES WILBERT

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INFORMATION

128 INTRODUCTION: For the purpose of the present paper we would like to classify the Waica as a subtribe of the Yanoama tribe, the ethnic identification and the internal composition of which appears to be but little understood. Although the actual blood group study will be concerned with the Waica Indians most particularly, we shall, nevertheless, include as well some information on the Yanoama tribe in general. This, we trust, will not only serve to locate the specific Waica data within a wider frame of reference, but also to facilitate the comprehension of the theoretical considerations based thereon.

131 *Ethnic identification.* The Yanoama inhabit a very extensive area between 0°30'-5° N and 62°-65° W, which includes the headwaters of the Paragua, Caura, Ventuari, Padamo, Ocamo, Mavaca, and Orinoco rivers of Venezuela, as well as those of the Uraricuera, Catrimani, Dimini, and Araçá rivers of Brazil. The Sierra Parima crosses this heavily forested territory like a vertebral column, so to speak, and marks at the same time the frontier between the Venezuelan and the Brazilian parts of the Yanoama land (see map, Fig. 1).

101 The Yanoama are surrounded by Tropical Forest Indians with Neo-Indian culture types; Cariban tribes enclose them in a semi-circle to the northeast, while Arawakan peoples bound them in a semicircle to the southwest. Thus, the Yanoama seem to have been functioning as a buffer between the Caribs and the Arawak, successfully resisting any attempt of intrusion by such groups as the Soto (Makiritare), the Pemon, and others. In recent years, after their Carib neighbours had suffered a marked decline in numbers and in strength, the Yanoama ventured northward into the Ventuari, Caura, and Paragua drainage area, intruding into Carib territory for more than 100 km.

[648]

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122 1 We wish to thank Dr A. Berti and Ovidio Castellani (División de Malariología, Ministerio de Sanidad, Venezuela) and the Misión Salesiana of the Territorio Federal Amazonas for their collaboration in collecting the blood samples. We are also indebted to Esperanza García for her technical assistance. We are greatly indebted to J. P. O'Riordan (The National Blood Transfusion Association, Dublin), M. Shapiro (The South African Blood Transfusion Service, Johannesburg), R. E. Rosenfeld (The Mount Sinai Hospital, New York), and Albin Masson (The Minneapolis Memorial Blood Bank, Minnesota) for supplying us with critical anti-sera.

St Layrisse et al. D,E-5 (ca. 1960)1962 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18 Waica

BLOOD GROUP ANTIGEN TESTS OF THE WAICA INDIANS OF VENEZUELA.[1]

MIGUEL LAYRISSE, ZULAY LAYRISSE, AND JOHANNES WILBERT

GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INFORMATION

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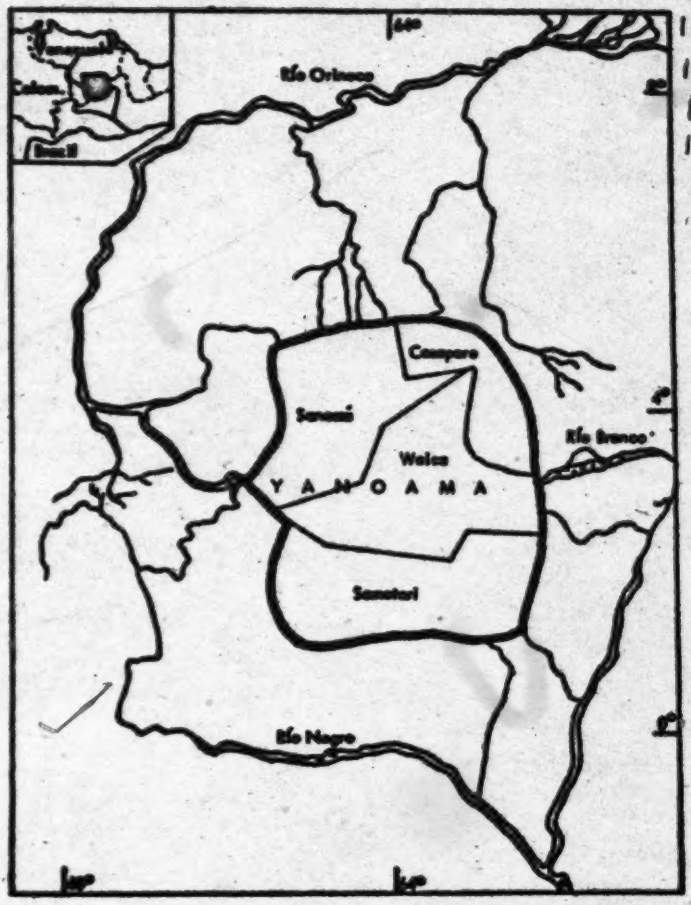

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133

FIG. 1. Preliminary map of Yanoama distribution. (Wilbert, 1961b).

since Koch-Grünberg's contact with two Yanoama groups, in 1911, that more substantial information on this interesting tribe has been collected and in parts been published.[2]

Emerging from these data are the names and descriptions of a number of distinguishable tribal units, e.g., Sanemá (Guaharibo, Shirishana), Casapare, Waica, Samatari, Surara, Pakidái, and others. It also has become quite obvious that the Yanoama subtribes are not unified by socio-political authority, but rather by a general and specific culture type, which in turn is integrated by a series of subcultures and culture variants, carried by the different subtribes and local groups respectively. The various local groups and subtribes occupy a coherent territory, they speak more or less closely related languages and display essentially similar economic, sociological, and religious forms.

Taken as a whole, the Yanoama were found to be a very numerous tribe and they belong, in fact, to the most numerous of all the autochtonous populations of lowland South America, but previously published figures of 30-50,000 individuals appear to represent very generous overestimations of the demographic strength of the Yanoama groups known so far.

Linguistic classification. Several authors have attempted a linguistic classification of the Yanoama although most of them did not have at their disposal the more recent material.[3] Taking advantage of this material, we have attempted a glottochronological analysis, the results of which allow us some interesting insight into the internal correlation of the Yanoama languages.[4]

According to this result, the several Yanoama languages, as known today, constitute the Yanoama linguistic stock of 6-35 mc of internal separation. The two more or less clearly distinguishable families of the stock are: *A. Sanemá:* (a) Sanemá, (b) Nabudíb, (c) Pubmatari, [6-17 mc of internal divergencies: Sanemá-Nabudíb = 6 mc, Sanemá-Pubmatari = 17 mc, Nabudíb-Pubmatari = 17 mc]; *B. Casapare:* (a) Casapare, (b) Carime (?), (c) Waica, (d) Samatari (Surara and Pakidái), [8-21 mc of internal divergencies, excepting Carime (for lack of vocabulary material): Casapare-Waica = 21 mc, Casapare-Samatari = 21 mc, Waica-Samatari = 8 mc].

2 Sanema-Pakidái, by Becher, 1980; Waica, by Baker, 1933; Schmeer, 1938; Zerries, 1955, 1956, 1958a, 1958b, 1959, 1960; Sanemá, by Vinci, 1959; Wilbert, 1961a, 1961b.

3 Rivet, 1924, p. 678; Loukotka, 1944, pp. 8-9; Mason, 1950, p. 254; Rivet and Loukotka, 1952, p. 1140; McQuown, 1955, p. 525; Greenberg, 1956; Swadesh, 1959, p. 26; Dall' Igna Rodrigues, 1960, pp. 136-137.

4 We are indebted to Dra H. Becher and O. Zerries for having us have a basic vocabulary of Sanema-Pakidái and Waica respectively. Complete information on source material has been presented by Wilbert, 1961a.

6: Vinci / T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

one gave a thought to these peaks that towered higher with every bend of the river. Then one afternoon, after a storm, they dropped out of sight, and we realized that we had entered a different region. Manuera pointed leftwards, to the mouth of a small river whose water was yellow.

'Pulipuli. Nuna,' he told us—Nuna being the Shirian and Makiritari pronunciation of 'Luna'. 'There is my home, the home of the Shirians.'

We swung into the mouth of the Luna and tied up under a tall clay bank among a few ill-made canoes—if you could call them canoes, for they looked more like rotten tree-trunks swept on to the little landing-beach in the course of some sudden flood.

Our arrival in the dirty waters of the Luna was a signal for swift and secret flight on the part of the population. Some Shirian youngsters had been hunting a capybara which the throb of our motor scared off. The boys, no less scared than the animal, ran to hide in the nearby huts, spreading the wondrous news that men had come with beards and an engine.

The Moon Valley people occupy a fair-sized wedge of territory in the forests between the Lower Canaracuni and the Caura. Their little huts are sorry imitations of the big Makiritari erections, and they have burned out big patches of forest for the sowing of manioc and bananas. All this is the work of the last twenty years. Not till then did the tribes of the Shirian borderland grow weary of their nomad life, their wars and their plundering expeditions, and decide to set up house and home. Pulipuli became a sort of agricultural centre for the groups living on the Upper Caura, or on the Merehuari and its tributary streams as far as the great mountain saddle between Uana-Coco, Canaua, and Uagna. These people here were therefore the most advanced of the Shirians, not only in a geographical sense but also in their culture. Their numbers were continually increasing because they had a magnetic attraction for neighbouring tribes who were still mere primitive forest hunters.

Manuera had married a Pulipuli girl and then joined her tribe. 'Let us build a fine house,' he had told her, 'and I'll come and live with you. I'll bring good manioc and banana roots. We'll plant a big patch, in the proper way we Makiritaris know, and there'll be no lack of food. You Shirians are for ever as hungry as beasts and I can't stomach the worms you eat.'

There was great puzzlement among the old Shirians—those whose hairless heads showed the marks of so many battles and so many robbing and plundering expeditions all through the valley and the Merehuari cordillera as far as the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

'I am Uarema,' he declared to his Guayca kinsmen, who looked on him with hostile eyes because he was wearing trousers, 'Uarema, son of Measi. I was here as a boy. A long time I have been with "the rationals" [the civilized men] and I have grown to manhood. You are my people.'

His turning up in this fashion had a touch of the fabulous about it, and his kinsmen took him along without ill-treating him. When they found him to be a man of many accomplishments, and the old men remembered how he had disappeared during Uagna's time, after an encounter with the Samatari from the Aracosa lands, they kept him with them as their rightful chief, giving him unlimited freedom of action. As his obedient subjects they left it all to him.

Uarema had never taken to civilization. For him, it had lacked something. What it had lacked, we cannot guess: the civilization of the Lower Guiana rivers may be bounded by the cloth hammock and the bottle of rum, the loose woman and the pack of cards, but it cannot be ranked any lower than the barbarianism of the Guayca, eaters of worms and snakes. But now, after his experience of life with 'the rationals', neither could the young man endure the ceaseless warfare which engaged his own peoples. The broken heads he saw round the fire in the evenings, the howls of the medicine-men at their exorcisings—all this was anathema to him. He told his kinsfolk they had better put it all aside, and grow something. From the Soto they could obtain seeds and roots. Much manioc was needed, because without it one was always hungry. Sugar-cane was a pleasant thing to suck at any time, and the children loved it. Above all, there must be bananas, as far as eye could see—the forest must be transformed into a huge garden of fruits, there for the picking. Thus, with his head full of ideas which owed their origin to the years he had spent in civilization, Luis Antonio founded a new Guayca people. They were Guayca Indians no longer, but peasants—peasants who cared for the tilling of the soil and a sure supply of food. These Guayca called themselves after him, Uarema. They inhabited two big homesteads an hour distant from the Merevari river—a little above the mouth of the Canaracuni.

Now Luis Antonio wanted to stay with us and work, because he needed cloth for his people. We gave him what little we had been able to save from the greedy hands of Pancho's men, and he went off for a brief visit to his tribe, intending to return to Kirisochi in four days' time.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

especially strong and intelligent, and keep him at his side, adopting him, as it were, as his successor. The little girls continue to live in the feminine world of their tribe. Shy and submissive, they take on the humblest tasks, fetching water, making the fire and helping in the preparation—highly problematical—of food.

Such definitions of customs have, however, only a relative value, like any attempt to estimate the Shirian way of life: for Shirians are to be found spread over wild territory of vast extent. Their customs are less well defined than one might suppose after reading certain tracts about primitive peoples—the Pacific islanders, for instance. These give the impression that with slight formal changes only, Western culture might have much to learn from the degree of social organization they have attained to. The Shirian tribes, cut off from one another as they are by physical barriers such as mountains and rivers, and moral barriers like the ceaseless state of war which exists between the various branches of this race of 'howling Indians', have developed their own customs in their own sporadic fashion. Sometimes they have been weakened by contact with foreigners, such as the Makiritari in the north-west and the Makushi in the east. More often they have been weakened by a lack of strong traditions, which do not spring easily from such an excessively low level of culture, where mere survival calls for an unending struggle against the tremendous power of the eternally hostile forest.

The most primitive races are those most affected by their geographical setting. Their environment conditions them. Only by adapting themselves continually to their surroundings, only by the long process of response to the determining factor of geography, can they create that growing racial identity which at last succeeds in reversing the process—that is, in conditioning the surroundings instead of being conditioned by them. But we are here touching on the larger question of the development of civilization generally.

Where the Shirians are concerned, we are still at the beginning of the beginning, when geography is the absolute determining factor. Here environment is the master of man—a creature inferior, qualitatively and quantitatively, to the region which it is his fate to inhabit.

The territory they occupy is immense. Divided though it may be by great cordilleras, which make it the breeding ground for various rivers rushing north, west and south, it possesses one marked characteristic throughout its whole extent: the sources and the headwaters of the rivers are contained in a sort of

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

island of unbroken forest, which is not crossed by any formidable water barrier. If this were the case, the Shirians, who are pre-eminently a land people, would be presented with an insurmountable obstacle.

North of the Brazilian frontier live the Shirians of the Canaracuni and the Merevari. These are divided into various clans, the most important being the Uana-Dildep, the Haruao, the Oskadeli, the Kopali, the Hana-Dildep, the Ukumatari, the Kona-Kona—they swarm like ants. Then there are the Guayca Shirians of Uarema, lately established on the Merevari, but originally from the Upper Uagna. Along the mountain watershed which extends, with frequent interruptions, from the Uagna to the centre of the highlands where the Uraricoera, the Ventuari and the Padamo rivers rise, one encounters the nomadic Samatari—the 'people of the pineapple'—a fierce and savage race of howling creatures that run in packs like animals.

The general term used by the Shirians to designate their most savage tribes is 'Guayca' (in their language, 'wild'). By the Guayca they sometimes mean the Samatari and sometimes the Ukumatari. On the Padamo and in the lowlands enclosed by the great mountains of Marahuaca and Duida—that is, to the south of the central ridge—they have spread right beyond the upper reaches of the Orinoco: though in these regions there are also many of the more peaceful Shirian peoples such as the Uaka on the Uesete, the Faricete, the Matacuni, the Kologli, the Haue, and the Ish'tich—the 'people of flowers and bananas'. The Guayca and the Samatari are also to be found east of the Padamo-Orinoco-Rio Parima watershed, in the wildest and least-known territory. Isolated groups, with a touch of the legendary about them, inhabit the fringe of this region: for instance, the Kasarape, credited by all Shirians with unparalleled ferocity and cruelty. The Kasarape inhabit the right bank of the Lower Uraricoera in Brazil, and no traveller appears to have visited them yet.

How numerous are the Shirians? No one can state a figure with any certainty, but it may be accepted that they run into many thousands, and taken together represent a block that outnumbers all other races and tribes inhabiting the Orinoco and Rio Branco basin.

I had asked Luis Antonio whether it would be possible for me to be present during the confinement of his kinswoman, presuming the happy event took place during our stay, but all I got for an answer was a doubtful 'I don't know'—the formula in which the Indian takes refuge when he does not know what to say. This did not quite deny the possibility, even if it did not encourage the

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

into the proper shape, which means without the logical synthesis which gives them their definitive value. As with his analytical copy of the face, so the Shirian analyses the world in his thoughts about it, but forms no judgment on it, because to form a judgment would necessitate a higher power of synthesis that he possesses.

We now discovered that the Indians had chosen two very fine names for us, by which we were henceforth known. Enrico's was Ilòh—howling monkey, on account of his red beard and its obvious resemblance to the alouata's tawny coat. Mine was Walé—wild boar: my hide was apparently somewhat similar to the peccary's. We had a good laugh over the names and were pleased to be known by them, because it meant that at any rate we had been accepted as men like themselves, our beards being so much superstructure; we were just Indians or '*Sanemá*', which means 'people', to use the word the Shirians apply to themselves, the equivalent of the Makiritari '*Soto*'.

The fact that I was accepted by the Samatari as one of themselves has

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

always filled me with pride. By setting about it in the right way we can always manage to make ourselves acceptable to our superiors, but no such effort will ensure the same result with people more lowly placed than we are: for this, the all-important thing is to possess a natural bent, a certain humility of spirit and a sympathetic understanding. One must possess the faculty of becoming, up to a certain point, 'primitive' oneself, adopting all the healthiest attributes of the primitive state, without at the same time losing one's own value as a civilized being: one must be primitive and something more—not just the 'something more' alone, which rather amounts to something less.

It often happens that scientific expeditions, or explorers of one sort or another, venture into regions inhabited by primitive men with the intention of studying them. They approach them with all the preconceived and presumptuous notions of men who have read up all there is on the subject, and every single human being who shows up on the river-bank becomes a savage and must be catalogued like a butterfly. Thus the Shirians in all their slightly different types and sub-divisions are all called 'Guaharibos'—a name which means nothing and which the Shirians themselves have never heard. These scientific explorers may indeed take measurements of their faces and calculate the number of red corpuscles in their blood: the Shirians remain Sanemà for all that—people living in their own forest land, fighting their battles for their own special reasons, but ready to become men just like any others—because with a completeness and a simplicity that surpasses our own, they are men already. But scientific records lump the Sanemà and the Soto together under the barbarian headings of Guaharibo and Magnungòn, both contemptuous epithets, and humanity learns nothing from these explorers with their solar topees, who have scarcely got back to civilization after spending a few months in the forest and learning all there is to be known about the savages before they start writing books about it. If these books could be read and understood by the primitive people they treat with, the authors would be rewarded with a volley of arrows.

VII

Living improved considerably and there was meat now in abundance: the banks of the Uraricoera were full of game. The best cuts were reserved for us,

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema
Uaca

*123

This fantastic appellation sounded quite harmonious in the forest, even to Indian ears, and brought Dolfuss' followers out of their concealment, splashing through the water towards us.

[131] [101] Dolfuss belonged to the Shirians of the Uaka tribe. These are scattered over the territory bounded by the Matacuni, the Padamo and the tributary streams of the Upper Ventuari. They are similar in appearance to the Pulipuli people, though rather more savage. They were very timid, and full of references to the Guayca, who they said were very active in this area, particularly in the parts we had just come from.

With Dolfuss there was an old man who was always either squatting down or else propping himself up on one leg; and two dour, surly-looking boys, who kept well away from our guns with a gleam of terror in their eyes. The next morning brought a whole host, along with women and children too, and of course we had to let them all examine our beards and rub themselves against them, and investigate other more detailed peculiarities of our anatomy. By urging the whole crowd of them on with sweeping gestures, we managed to get on our way very quickly, and a few hours later arrived on the banks of the Ocamo, a smallish river but strangely resembling the Upper Merevari. From the last high point we had been able to make out some huge flat-topped massifs, blue in the haze of distance, which must certainly have belonged to the Duida-Marahuaca group. For a moment, we hoped to come out on a patch of savannah land where we should be able to dry the damp forest mould out of ourselves and our belongings. But the Shirians told us there was no savannah in these parts.

[361] [501] [342] [162] [165] The Uaka huts were on the side of a hill, a hundred yards from the right bank of the river, which we crossed by means of a length of rotten wood, shaped like a canoe. There were three buildings, each with the single-span sloping roof, very humble affairs, so low-pitched that inside them one risked getting a beam in one's eye at any moment. There were about fifty of these people, and among them we noticed many who had reached a considerable age, which is unusual. There must have been some aspect of the Ocamo region which favoured longevity in the inhabitants. There was an 'ape-man' too—an old, solitary fellow, almost dumb, who came up to us with gurgles of amazement, not daring to touch us. However, he took one of the axes when we gave it to him and with the aid of some of the youngsters started making us a cabin.

Life with the Shirians was made extremely difficult by their petulant ways

/433 cont./

121 Messrs. Eugene Higdem, Byron Reihart, and Joe Jenkins, and the late Flora Troxel.

124 The information concerning the area of Brazil inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ has been gathered from oral reports made to me by several men who said that they had worked upstream /434/ on the rivers of Brazil, within or near Guaika Territory. This information, although fragmentary and not absolutely certain, has helped us nevertheless to form a more complete picture of the Guaika tribe as a whole.

Orientation

101
131 The Guaika /Waica/ tribe inhabits the region of the Upper Orinoco and its tributaries above the outlet of the Ocamo River, including also the south bank of the Ocamo itself. In addition, the Guaika tribe extends into the territory of Brazil, occupying the headwaters of several tributaries of the Branco and Negro rivers (see the map /see p. 6 /).

The tribe located to the north, the Guajaribo /Guaharibo/, inhabits the north bank of the Ocamo River, the valley of the Padamo River, and the headwaters of the Caura River, and is also found in Brazil on the headwaters of the Uraricoera River, a tributary of the Branco River. The Guajaribo come downriver frequently as far as La Esmeralda, and on occasion even come as far as the mouth of the Cunucunuma River. It has been reported that they have been seen as far to the east as the Paragua River in the state of Bolívar (see map).

197 The Guaika and Guajaribo Indians speak the same language, but there are several observable dialectical differences which make it possible to distinguish immediately by their speech whether they belong to the one group or to the other. I make this observation on the basis of my studies of the Guaika language spoken in El Platanal and its comparison with samples of the Guajaribo dialect collected by Flora Troxel and by me in La Esmeralda and Ioeitedi.

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/434 cont./

197 Nevertheless, what distinguishes the Guajaribo as a
101 separate group from the Guaika, even more than the small differences in language, are certain differences in their habits and material culture.

101 The Guajaribo share a goodly portion of their habitation
197 zone with the Maquiritare /Makiritare/ Indians, who live to the north. As a result of this, it appears that they have adopted
[248] many things from Maquiritare culture; for example, they culti-
[352] vate yuca more than the /435/ Guaika do. Their cotton ham-
[342] mocks and those of the Guaika seem to be a simplified version
[484] of the ones which the Maquiritare make. They also build some few ranchos with double-sloped roofs. And, like the Maquiritare, they travel much farther than the Guaika.

191 A certain number of the Guajaribo are bilingual, and they
192 speak Maquiritare in their commercial relations. They have also adopted a certain number of Spanish words through the Maquiritare and through their outside contacts, which have been more numerous than the contacts which the Guaika of the Orinoco have had with outsiders.

101 The title "Guajaribo" seems to be a name given to this tribe by outsiders and adopted by them for commercial reasons. The Maquiritare call the Guajaribo "Shidishana" or "Shiriana." These names, Shidishana and Shiríana, are the ones which the Guajaribo themselves employ when they talk among themselves or when they talk with the Guaika and the Maquiritare.

Maps

126 I have not been able to find a map of the exact territory inhabited by the Guaika /Waica/ and Guajaribo /Guaharibo/
[114] tribes. For example, on most of the maps the Ocamo River is shown running almost parallel to the Padamo River, when in reality it runs almost parallel to the Orinoco River. I have corrected some of these errors, but my maps are still only approximations.

126 On the map of the local area of El Platanal, I have tried
628 to show the friendly and hostile relations between the settlements, as well as the approximate location of the Guaika

7: Barker--6 M-5 (ca. 1951-1953) 1953 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Waica

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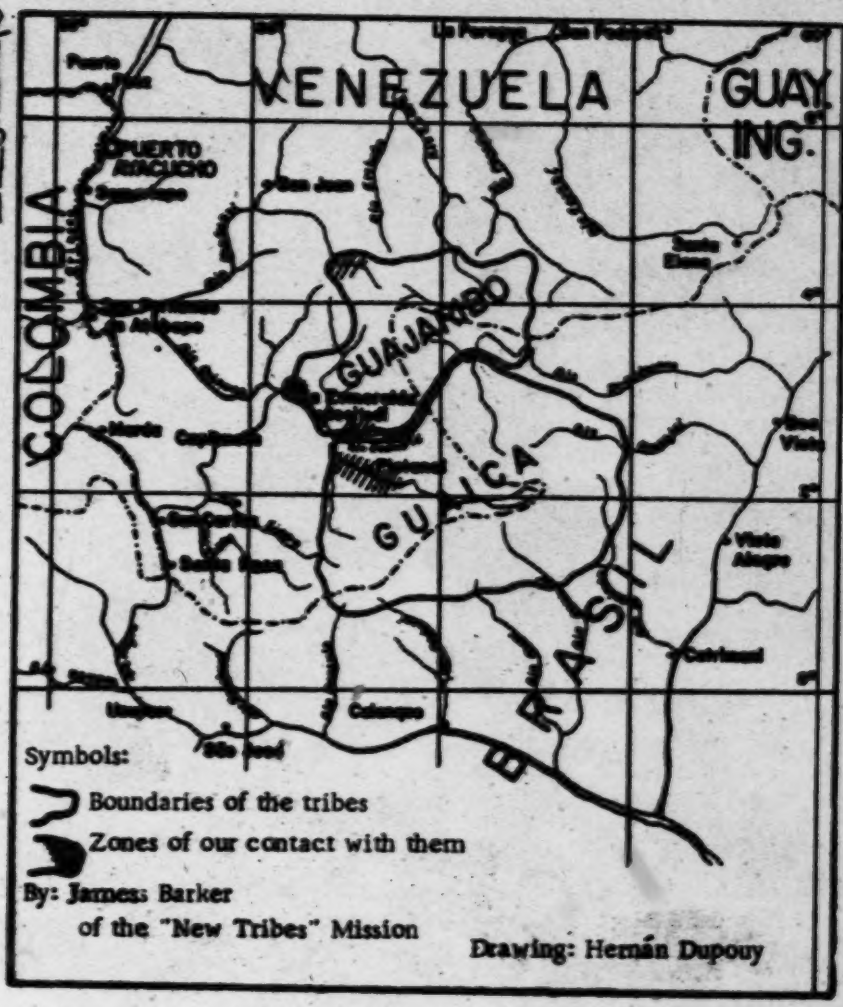

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Venezuelan Indians 554
Makiritare 5820
5

they have imposed their mark in the names of the rivers, the word-endings -ari, -uni, -eni, meaning river or water. The ending -ari, often altered to -are, is ubiquitous west and north-west of the Orinoco as far as the foothills of the Andes—evidence of the former extent of the Arawak race. Most of the boatmen we recruited

MAP SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF INDIAN TRIBES IN THE AREA OF THE UPPER ORINOCO

in the Orinoco basin and on the Amazonas slopes were Arawaks. As a result of countless voyages up and down the great rivers and as a consequence of many an invasion they are, anthropologically, a very mixed lot, even showing traces of Negro blood.

Caribs

Caribs were the late-comers to the territory. They include the Arekuna, the Yauarana, the Mapayo, the Yekuana and the Bekuana.

[i.e. The Arawaks -- Analyst]

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Saliva SS 15

the upper reaches of the Caura and Caroni rivers; and on the tributaries of the upper reaches of the rivers Negro and Branco in Brazil.

In his classification based on families of language, Koch-Grünberg includes these scattered groups under the heading "Detached Groups", a term he uses for all linguistic groups that do not belong to either of the main families, though he acknowledges their anthropological and linguistic kinship. The fact that they inhabit the most distant and least accessible regions, that they are dispersed over so wide an area, and that they are subdivided into clans which frequently number no more than a dozen individuals, strongly suggests that these people are a "residual population" that has doubtless been thrust farther and farther back by successive waves of invasion.

The four or five thousand Piaroas and Guaharibos who inhabit the territory of the Middle Orinoco, between Puerto Ayacucho and San Fernando de Atabapo, are also classified as "Detached" by Koch-Grünberg. Anthropologically it would seem that these two peoples are comparatively remote from each other. As we have no information as to the time of their emergence and settlement in their present zone of habitation, we may perhaps assume that all of these groups constitute, or did once constitute, the original stratum of population, without necessarily coming from the same stem.

Three small clans, tiny pockets of people geographically isolated from each other which cannot as yet be related to any of the big families already mentioned, also appear on Koch-Grünberg's ethnological map. These are the Makus. They occur on the River Auari, where they occupy no more than a single hut; on the Ventuari, where they number about eighty; and on the Iñirida, where they are known as Puinabes. It has been suggested that these last could conceivably be the descendants of the Guaypunabis whose chief, Ceseru, joined with Solano in founding San Fernando de Atabapo and Santa Bárbara.

Thus the classification of the Indian peoples of the

9:Grolier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Guaharibo

101 Guiano-Amazonas district of Venezuela, is neither so simple nor clear-cut as it at first appears. None of the Indians of the Guianian highlands are natural settlers. The more primitive groups, who live entirely from cropping the forest, fishing and hunting, are compelled to lead wandering lives; and those who practise agriculture and live in villages are ever ready for [167] a change of scene. These things, allied to an ingrained migratory instinct, lead them to keep moving about the country throughout their lives.

More Guaharibos from the Padamo

123 On the afternoon of May 25th another party of Guaharibos arrived at Esmeralda. I was approaching the jetty in one of the boats when I heard Francisco shouting from the other bank. It was nothing new to hear Francisco's bellowing; whenever he had killed a tapir that was too heavy for him to carry alone, or when the day's bag was too big to be loaded on his minute *curiara*, he would give tongue in this manner. I turned back to join him and as I did so he pointed with a paddle to an Indian craft which till then had been hidden from me by the bank-side vegetation. I steered towards it, standing up in the boat and making gestures of welcome and friendship. For an answer two men stood up timidly in their [501] boat as I went over to them and circled round them. Their craft, which rocked buoyantly in my wash, was built of a single strip of bark. It was similar to the one the children had left behind them, but bigger and contained thirteen people. Then I led them back to the landing-stage.

The official reception of these people we left to Butrón, who had a wonderful gift for this sort of thing. He quickly had some machetes brought out as gift-offerings. Of the boat's crew nine were young men in their teens, two of whom had their faces blackened with charcoal. Among them was Mopare, the eldest of our first visitors. Two children of about six and two young women tried to efface themselves against the bottom [291] of the boat. The youths wore some cotton material round their middles which was secured back and front by a belt of string. The women wore a sort of fringed apron no more than a few inches across.

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18

Orinoco to the Guaharibo Rapids. On this the river's course is given in great detail, showing not only the major tributaries but a great many minor ones as well, though there is no indication of their size. From first-hand experience it was clear to us that the contribution of some of the lesser tributaries was anything but negligible. There are, for instance, the Iguapo, which joins the Orinoco from the right ten miles above Esmeralda after itself being joined by a river its own size, and another river, unnamed as far as I know, which has its mouth midway between the Padamo and the Ocamo. And entering from the other bank come the Lipe and the Icipe, of which the latter is eighty yards wide at the confluence. Of these four only the Iguapo has been explored and that by Diez de la Fuente.

Above the Mavaca the Orinoco's mean width is less than two hundred yards. Its general direction of flow is east to west with a slight northern tendency and surprisingly, since it nowhere else does so in its thousand miles journey from Mavaca to the sea, it twists and turns pronouncedly.

Since we had left Esmeralda the only birds we had seen were single specimens of black ibis, large kingfishers and droves of white egrets. The egrets would sit craning their necks in the trees and, as we approached, would fly up only to settle down a little farther away. It was as though no human being had ever disturbed their forests. Once or twice we saw a pair of otters diving from a rock or dead tree stump and once we shot at an anaconda which was placidly coiled round a tree. We watched as it slowly unwound and disappeared into the murky water.

That evening we took one of the *curiaras* up a small tributary and fished, but the spate was too strong. Instead of fish we gathered some forest cocoa whose pulp is a refreshing drink when newly made.

The First Waïkas

The Padamo and Ocamo rivers are inhabited by Guaharibos. Above the Ocamo, the inhabitants of the Orinoco's banks call themselves Waïkas. They closely resemble the Guaharibos we had met at Esmeralda but are, perhaps, a little more primitive. Some had had previous contact with Butrón's wood-cutters.

CHAPTER I

YĘNOMAMÖ CULTURE AND EARLIER ANTHROPOLOGICAL WORK[1]

[101]

A. Yęnomamö Culture

The Yęnomamö are discussed in the literature under such tribal designations as Guaica, Waika, Guaharibo, Makù, Schiriana, Xiriana, Kirischana, Shidishana, Shamatari, Sanema, and Yanoama. Most of the terms are derogatory names applied to the Yęnomamö by their neighbors and characterize the people as being monkey-like or as savages.[2]

[114] In the upper Orinoco and the Mavaca basin where I conducted my field work, the Indians referred to themselves as Yęnomamö, which at once defines their mode of life, language, origin, and includes all people who share this mode of life, language and origin. All non-Yęnomamö are collectively

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[114] [1]As there are very few reliable English sources describing Yęnomamö social organization and culture, I give a brief description of them here. The best source in English to date is Zerries' 1955 publication, but it deals only with particular traits of Yęnomamö culture.

[128] [2]The word Yęnomamö is nasalized on every syllable,
[94] but for ease of typing this manuscript, I have not indicated all
the nasalization. The vowel /-ę-/ is written /-ë-/. I have writ-
[104] ten the /- ə -/ as "-ë-" and have indicated nasalization
by /-,-/; whenever a Yęnomamö word has one nasalized syllable,
all syllables in that word are nasalized.

• 101 called nabä--"stranger" or "foreigners." Nabä have degenerated from an original Yąnomamö stock and are regarded, therefore, with some contempt by the Yąnomamö, an attitude that is further manifested in the language; Yąnomamö in linguistic usage requires an honorific pronoun whereas nabä takes the common pronouns.

[128] I adopt the term Yąnomamö to refer to the entire group whose geographical distribution is shown in Map A,[1] using the term in a linguistic-cultural sense to define the tribe. Others have adopted the same usage with minor differences in spelling.

Several of the above-mentioned terms, Sanema, Waika, and Shamatari deserve further discussion, as they are used either as self-designations or in reference to local groups of Yąnomamö occupying specific geographical areas.

The term Sanema (Wilbert, 1963) is used in the upper Caura River as a self-designation. In this dialect the [194] initial phone /y/ has been replaced throughout the language by /s/, Sanema thus being a local pronunciation of Yąnomamö.[2]

The term Shamatari is used by all the Yąnomamö Indians on the upper Orinoco River to refer to the congeries of villages that occupy the large area south of the Orinoco River and adjacent portions of Brazil. Zerries (1964:19)

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[1] See next page.

[115] [2] Ernesto Migliazza, personal communication. According to Migliazza, the word Sanema is pronounced /Sanöma/.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 29]

Zerries (1964:19) has included the groups I studied in the Shamatari classification on the basis of information taken from Mahekodotedi informants. The members of these groups, however, deny the Shamatari identity and distinguish themselves from their southern neighbors, some of whom visit them regularly and are married into their villages.

The Shamatari,[1] according to my Bisaasi-tedi informants, take their name from one of the headmen, Kayabawä ("big tree"), who lived north of the Orinoco River in a village then called Shihowä-tedi. Kayabawä was an unusually corpulent man and bore a second name, Shamatari, derived from their word (Shama) for the tapir, a large ungulate found throughout tropical South America. Shamatari, when Shihowä-tedi split, led his faction south of the Orinoco River and settled in the headwaters of the river known to the Yąnomamö as the Shukumöna-u (see above), where his village became known as Mokayëaba-tedi. Other villages, related to Shiowä-tedi, moved into the Shukumöna River and Mavaca River basins after Shamatari's village was established, ultimately spreading as far southwest as the Cauabury headwaters in Brazil. The Shamatari expansion into this area took place around the turn of the century, according to my reconstruction of Shamatari history (see below). This is also supported by meagre

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[1] There is another "Shamatari" group in the tributaries of the Upper Parima River of Brazil; these are not to be confused with the Shamatari under discussion here, although both groups are Yąnomamö. See Vinci, 1959, for an impressionistic account of his brief contact with the Parima Shamatari.

This is also supported by meagre historical evidence bearing on the aboriginal inhabitants of this area. Several distinguished Europeans explored portions of the area under consideration and all of them were familiar with the existence of the Yąnomamö in the Orinoco headwaters. None of them, however, reported that Yąnomamö Indians were living in the Mavaca Basin. Alexander Humboldt, who ascended the Casiquiare Canal in 1800, discussed the area of the Mavaca headwaters as one frequently used by Indians of the 'Portugueze Missions' as the route between the Cauabury headwaters to Esmeralda (on the Orinoco River) by way of the Mavaca River. The aromatic seeds of the puchery laurel were seasonally gathered near Esmeralda and sold in Brazil (Humboldt, 1281, Vol. 5, pt. 1, pp. 308-9).

So well known was this route that Robert Schomburgk intended to follow it in 1839 to reach the Rio Negro from Esmeralda, hoping to avoid the 200 miles that the Casiquiare route would have added to his journey. He was dissuaded from doing so by the residents of Esmeralda, who, knowing both the route and the seasonal variations in the river, assured him that the trip would be impossible at that time of the year (Schomburgk, 1840 :244).

Richard Spruce ascended the Paciba River, a branch of the Casiquiare Canal that has its source near the Mavaca River, in 1854 and found the upper reaches of the river inhabited by several Aruak-speaking tribes (1908:425, 427).

The first evidence that the Yąnomamö had penetrated

? [i.e. Shamatari expansion south of the Orinoco R. - Analyst]

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175 The first evidence that [31] the Yąnomamö had penetrated the Mavaca Basin comes from a brief comment in Rice's account (1921) of his exploration of the Upper Orinoco. His guide, a Baré Indian, told him that the 'Guahariboa' had killed his brother ". . . near the sources of the Umauaca."[1] There is no historical evidence that the Yąnomamö occupied the Mavaca basin any earlier than this date (ca. 1915-20), save for scattered reports of unidentified 'wild tribes' alleged to dwell in these regions. My own data support this.

By 1925 the Yąnomamö were reported to be raiding settlements along the upper Cauabury River and soon were raiding the north bank of the Rio Negro itself. The Brazilian (648) settlers eventually abandoned this area because of the raids (Seitz, 1963:19, 20, 21; Zerries, 1964:14).

The historical evidence suggests, then, that the Yąnomamö have entered this large area only recently. This is supported by the accounts given to me by the Yąnomamö, who further describe the occupants of the area as Shamatari, a usage based in part on the historical interconnectedness of the villages that spread into the area, and in part on geographical considerations. Yąnomamö villages unrelated to the original group led by Kayabawë (Shamatari) have entered this area, and their northern neighbors refer to them as Shamatari, even though these villages are not historically related to Kayabawë's and their members deny being Shamatari.

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[1] Ibid., p. 341.

• 101 The term Waika or Guaica is used in much the same way as the term Shamatari, i.e., in reference to a geographical bloc of villages that have a common history. I have no knowledge concerning the origin of the term except its etymological derivation from the verb waikaŏ: "to kill something that is already wounded," "to finish off an animal that is dying."[1]

The term Waika, or variants of it (Guaica, Uaica), has been in the literature the longest, appearing in Caulin's 1779 work. Zerries has adopted its usage, along with the term Schiriana, to refer to the entire Yąnomamŏ group; ironically, members of the village in which he conducted his field work, Mahekodo-tedi, denied to me that they were Waika, explaining that the Waika lived further up the Orinoco River and inland.

Insofar as designations more precise than Yąnomamŏ are required, the Indians themselves simply use their village names. The terms Shamatari and Waika do not refer to political entities, and the boundaries of the geographical zones including so-called Waika or Shamatari villages are difficult to fix. Only the members of those villages that are related historically to Kayabawë's group are properly designated as Shamatari. All of the Indians of this large area, however, regard themselves as Yąnomamŏ, no matter what others call them, and I adopt this term to refer to the entire group.

000 Numerically, the Yąnomamŏ are one of the largest

[114]

[1]Zerries, 1964:3, gives the same derivation for the term.

131 Numerically, the Yąnomamö[33] are one of the largest
161 unacculturated tribes in South America, having a total population that approaches 10,000 in both Venezuela and Brazil. Most Yąnomamö live in Venezuela, occupying the area drained by the upper Orinoco, Mavaca, Manaviche, Ocamo, Padamo and Ventuari Rivers in the state of Amazonas, and the headwaters
101 of the Caura and Paragua rivers of Estado Bolivar. In several
197 drainages (Paragua, Caura, Ventuari and Padamo) the Yąnomamö
439 are in contact with other tribes speaking Carib languages (Makiritare and Arekuna or Taulipang), from whom the Yąnomamö have traditionally obtained steel tools in trade and from whom a number of culture traits have been borrowed. Zerries has painstakingly analyzed these traits in his 1964 work.

114 161 No systematic census has been made of the entire Yąnomamö language family, although James P. Barker was commissioned by the Venezuelan Government to compile a census of the Yąnomamö occupying the Amazonas territory of that country. By both actual head-count and estimates of village size for groups that topography prevented him from visiting, Barker presently estimates the Venezuelan Amazonas Yąnomamö population to be well over 7,000.[1]

161 162 #621 The population in Amazonas is distributed in some 80 to 100 villages, averaging between 60 and 100 people per village.[2] Villages occasionally contain as few as 40 people

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[115] [1]Personal communication. See Zerries (1964:5) for a discussion of Yąnomamö population size. He concludes that the Yąnomamö are ". . . the largest yet unacculturated aboriginal group in tropical South America." (Ibid. My translation.)

[128] [2]The relationship to warfare tactics and village size is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

593 684 the enraged husband struck his wife in the face with a burning log, severely burning her mouth. Burning is a common punishment, and many women bear immense scars from wounds inflicted by enraged husbands. Just before I left the field [578] a fight developed in Patanowä-tedi between a man and his wife's lover. The lover was killed in the fight and the woman's husband punished her by cutting off her ears with a machete. [165] Some women have been killed by enraged husbands, but in most of these cases, the deaths resulted from wounds that were not intended to be fatal.

607 613 *621 *628 [593] Despite the fact that the tie between spouses is weak, marriages create strong ties between a man and his sister's husband. This tie is of great significance in the social organization of the Yąnomamö, as it is stable, well defined, non-ambiguous and politically important. The brother-in-law (shoriwä) tie is the key link in alliances between local descent groups, both within and between villages.

607 601 The term shoriwä (brother-in-law, MoBrSo, FaSiSo, friend) is used constantly by Yąnomamö men when they address any new male acquaintance. Shoriwä implies a set of obligations and duties between the speakers. One can depend on his shoriwä for material goods and gifts, and a request for such items from a shoriwä is not easily denied: shoriwä is, in addition to goods-giver, wife-giver. The Yąnomamö use this [797] [609] [101] term for foreigners as well; they use it so frequently that the Salesian Missionaries who have recently contacted a few

607 601 799 [609] [601] groups of Yąnomamö have begun referring to the entire tribe as "Los Shori." The Yąnomamö address the missionaries with this term hoping to maximize their chances of obtaining desirable manufactured goods such as machetes and axes.

607 52 601 Men who are not related by blood constantly remind each other of obligations when they use this kinship term. A brother-in-law deserves respect, fair treatment, and gratitude. As the term is reciprocal, a conversation between two shoriwë is punctuated frequently by these constant reminders that each owes the other goods, services and respect by virtue of the fact that they stand in wife-giver/wife-receiver relationship to each other. Such conversations, usually about material goods or women, strike the outsider as something of verbal contests to determine which of the two speakers is more of a shoriwë than the other, i.e., who owes the other more goods, services, gratitude and generosity. One who has actually given a sister to the other's group has an advantage, in a trading sense, as he can more legitimately claim goods from the wife receiver.

*628 574 609 601 583 When men visit the village of an ally to beg, trade or participate in feasts, they call all non-related men of that village 'brother-in-law,' emphasizing the fact that they stand in wife-giver relationship to them, and deserve, therefore, the generosity of the hosts.

*628 527 574 583 581 Alliances between villages involve, in addition to military aid, mutual feasting and trading. It must be remembered that alliances, no matter how many marriage ex-

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[Namowei-tedi Group]

The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowä, and some of his kinsmen went to visit their allies on the latter's invitation, but Husirawä's group treacherously killed Shamaiyowä and two of his followers. Not wanting to participate in the raiding against their old allies, the Namowei-tedi established a new garden and moved away from the Wareta-tedi. A number of individuals in the present populations of Patanowä-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi trace descent back to the headman of Wareta-tedi, as the latter had demanded women in return for his protection. In ca. 1910 the Namowei-tedi moved to their new garden at Namowei.

Area 3: Namowei-tedi

This area is quite mountanous and the group took its name from one of the ranges, Namowei-kähkö--"sharpness." They lived here long enough to make three different gardens (Makei, Shodemi, and Amatakö), but ultimately were forced to abandon the area because of renewed raiding from their old enemies, the Boreta-tedi. Having no friends to the north and several old enemies to the east, the Namowei-tedi moved west and established their garden at Hahoyaoba-täka in ca. 1920.

Area 4: Hahoyaoba-tedi

The old allies of the Namowei-tedi, the Wareta-tedi, were forced to abandon their site and move west. They settled in the area immediately south of the Namowei-tedi, splitting into two villages (Hasaböwä-tedi and Ashadowä-tedi), and continued to remain on good terms with the Namowei-tedi.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1987 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

628 583 Bisaasi-tedi are the dominant partners in the bride-exchange network with their Shamatari allies, a dominance that is reflected in the disproportionate number of women they have managed to coerce out of their allies.

361 621 114 While I conducted my field work the Bisaasi-tedi lived in two villages on opposite banks of the Mavaca River. The group on the east bank was beginning to split by the time I left the field, and the split took place a few months later,[1] one of the factions moving to the north bank of the Orinoco River, but still within view of the other group.

B. The History of the Paruritawë-tedi

174 621 The Shamatari came into being as an identifiable group shortly before 1900. The Shamatari identity, as I have shown above (p. 28 ff.), is a function of the historical connections between the villages that split off from Shihowë-tedi's parental group, as well as geographical considerations.

My informants consistently spoke of two 'true' Shamatari men: Kayabawë (Shamatari) and Matakuwë. The villages of these two men have a common origin, but I was unable to get data on the nature of the events that led to the separation of these two groups. This event took place long before the life-span of my oldest informants, and none of them knew any details of the splitting. By 1875, however, 195 101 361 there were two distinct Shamatari groups north of the Orinoco headwaters, one of which bore the name Shihowë-tedi. Kayabawë

[1] Personal communication, James P. Barker.

(Shamatari) lived in this village and, when the village split, led his faction into the Shukumöna-u basin, becoming known as the Mokayäaba-tedi. This move took place about 1900.

The second village also moved to the south side of the Orinoco, but remained on that river. They settled near a mountain called Aramamisi-käkö, and named their village after the mountain. My historical data on the Shamatari village movements is sparce up to this point.

Between 1900 and 1950 the Mavaca and Shukumöna drainages were populated by the descendents of these two 'original' Shamatari groups, and the process of village splitting that led to the occupation of this large area continues at the present time.

Although there are two Shamatari groups (Kayabawä's and Matakuwä's), I outline the details of the movements of Matakuwä's group, mentioning Kayabawä's only in so far as it relates to the history of Paruritawä-tedi. Militarily, Kayabawä's group plays a prominent role in the movements of Matakuwä's followers up to 1920, illustrating once again that cognate villages enter into hostile relationships with each other after they separate. Thus, this section deals with the historical movements of the group that ultimately gave rise to Paruritawä-tedi; as this group also gave rise to a number of other villages, I shall have to briefly sketch the movements of these villages after their separation from the main group.

It will be immediately apparent that the Shamatari

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 4: Kayurewë

174 175 +628 726 861 The Aramamisi-tedi continued to raid Matakuwë's group at Kayurewë, so this site was abandoned in about 1940. Matakuwë's group had gotten into a war with the Namowei-tedi by 1940 over the death of Ruwahiwë, who was killed while he visited the Namowei-tedi at Patanowë-tëka. Ruwahiwë was Matakuwë's eldest son. After this incident, the Namowei-tedi actively raided Matakuwë's group at Kayurewë, and abducted a large number of women from them. Being raided by two villages, Matakuwë moved back to Konabuma, where his group had previously lived, because the peach palms of that garden were still producing.

Area 5: Konabuma

174 +621 361 (622) (101) About 5 years after this site was reoccupied by Matakuwë's group, the group split into two villages. One of them continued to live at Konabuma, and was led by Matakuwë's son, Sibarariwë. The other group moved to a branch of the Shukumöna-u River and took the name Paruritawë-tedi, led by Weiamamowë. The split at Konabuma was caused by an internal feud over a woman. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but after the groups separated, they began raiding each other.

(578) (721)

174 36 +628 722 175 Sibarariwë's group remained at Konabuma for a short time after the Paruritawë-tedi separated from them, but raids from the Namowei-tedi, the Armamisi-tedi and the Paruritawë-tedi themselves forced Sibarariwë's group to abandon Konabuma

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1]Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

MAP D

The Location of Uraricaá and Mavaca Yąnomamö

accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct women.

Another major difference between the Uraricaá and the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice to follow marriage rules.

The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

[1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

101 131 161 162 361 101 197 THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. iv). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

721 793 181 But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yąnomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

114 122 123 I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and _____ way of life.

[194]

[1]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark [ą]. When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phone [ö] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ä] vowel are pronounced as that vowel with the "ah" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąoläwä would be pronounced "cow-ha-wah," again nasalized.

[2]I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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Fig. 2-7. Orusimi, Kaobawä's brother's daughter, making a hammock for trade with allies.

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nant, while other plants allegedly cure the same evils. Kaobawä's followers do not cultivate many of these malevolent magical plants; they claim, however, that the "Waikas"[8] use them extensively and blow harmful charms at their enemies through hollow tubes. The failure of Kaobawä's group to use magical plants in this fashion is cited as a distinguishing feature that sets it aside from other groups of Yanomamö.

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[8]The Yanomamö are sometimes referred to in the literature by such designations as Shiriana, Xiriana, Guaharibo, and Waika. The first three terms are foreign words meaning "howler monkey" and have been applied to the Yanomamö by their northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. A good deal of the early information came from the quite unreliable accounts travelers obtained from the Makiritare. The term "*Waika*," however, from the verb *waikai*, is a Yanomamö word meaning "to kill an animal (or man) that is already dying from a wound." Zerries (1964) used the term "*Waika*" in much the same sense that I am using the term "Yanomamö." *Waika*, however, is very ambiguous and imprecise. For example, members of village "A" will assert that members of village "B" are "Waikas." If you ask members of village "B" if they are Waikas, however, they will deny it and say they are Yanomamö, adding that the members of village "C" are Waikas. When you question members of village "C," you will get the same answer: The Waikas live in the next village, only Yanomamö live here. Nevertheless, the term does have currency in the villages near the headwaters of the Orinoco River. One of my informants claimed that the blood of "Moon" (see the third section of this chapter) changed into Waikas, but they became extinct because they were so fierce. He also asserted that the Waikas were Yanomamö.

361 578 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowä. By this time their numbers had increased to such a level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village [101] that remained behind took the name Patanowä-teri and has remained to the present at that site. Kąobawä's group fled to Shihota, but was driven from there to Kreiböwei by the Patanowä-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a 361 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take 726 temporary refuge in the village of Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had 721 not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they 628 lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could estab- [841] lish gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kąobawä's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954, 621 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they [721] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of [722] renewed raids from the Patanowä-teri. Kąobawä's group moved to the Orinoco again, [101] to the site called Barauwä. By 1939 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kąobawä and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to estab- [648] lish contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an up- [101] stream and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to themselves as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2-8, have a settlement 621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being 578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away 722 from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more 184 complicated than the history of Kąobawä's group, since village fissioning began much earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2-8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above two groups of villages.

361 Kąobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages of Mǫmariböwei-teri and Reya- [134] boböwei-teri (see Fig. 2-8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the [648] past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by [722] poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The [578] remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neighbors, or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9] This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

[9]This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yąnomamö. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.